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AMERICAN SLAVERY.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THE MODERATOR, OFFICE BEARERS, AND MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

GENTLEMEN,—It is not in the spirit of hostility, or even of controversy, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society venture to address you on the subject of American Slavery in relation to the American Churches; but feeling, as they do, that it involves the liberty and happiness of nearly three millions of human beings, they are anxious to submit to you certain points which, in their judgment, are of great weight, and which they respectfully and earnestly commend to your grave consideration.

The origin of slavery in the United States is not lost in the obscurity of by-gone ages. It is a plain historical fact, that it owes its birth to the African slave-trade, now pronounced by every civilized community the greatest crime ever perpetrated against humanity. By the laws of Great Britain and the United States, that traffic is declared to be felony and piracy, and in the latter country, pronounced to be worthy of death. Such was the origin of American slavery. And how is it perpetuated? By laws which yield not in their atrocity and wickedness to the original act which tore the Africans from their native homes, and doomed them to perpetual slavery on a foreign shore. By these laws slaves are not ranked among *sentient beings*, but among *things*; they are declared to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners to all intents, purposes, and constructions whatsoever. Such is the cardinal principle of slavery. Its legal incidents as set forth by Judge Stroud, in his sketch of the slave laws of the United States, are as follows:—

"The master may determine the kind, and degree, and time of labour, to which the slave shall be subjected. The master may supply the slave with such food and clothing only, both as to quality and quantity, as he may think proper or find convenient. The master may, at his discretion, inflict any punishment upon the person of his slave. All the power of the master over his slave may be exercised not by himself only in person, but by any one whom he may depute as his agent. Slaves have no legal rights of property in things real or personal; but whatever they may acquire belongs, *in point of law*, to their masters. The slave being a *personal chattel* is at all times liable to be sold absolutely, or mortgaged, or leased at the will of his master. He may also be sold by process of law for the satisfaction of the debts of a living, or the debts and bequests of a deceased master at the suit of creditors or legatees. A slave cannot be a party before a judicial tribunal, in any species of action, against his master, no matter how atrocious may have been the injury received from him. Slaves cannot redeem themselves, nor obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have made such change necessary for their personal safety. Slaves being objects of *property*, if injured by third persons, their owners may bring suit, and recover damages, for the injury. Slaves can make no contract." And to crown the whole, slavery is declared to be "hereditary and perpetual." It is not deemed sufficient to hold the innocent parents in bondage, but these laws, which violate every principle of justice, humanity, and religion, remorselessly consign their innocent offspring to the same state of degradation and sorrow.

"Such," to use the language of Judge Jay, "is American slavery—a system which classes with the beasts of the field—over whom dominion has been given to man—an intelligent and account-

able being, the instant his Creator has breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Over this infant heir to immortality no mother has a right to watch—no father may guide his feeble steps, check his wayward appetites, and train him for future usefulness, happiness, and glory. Torn from his parents and sold in the market, he soon finds himself labouring among strangers, under the whip of a driver, and his task augmenting with his ripening strength. Day after day, and year after year, he is driven to the cotton or sugar field, as the ox to the furrow. No hope of reward lightens his toil—the subject of insult, the victim of brutality, the laws of his country afford him no redress; his wife, such only in name, may at any moment be dragged from his side; his children heirs only of his misery and degradation, are but articles of merchandise; his mind, stupified by his oppressor, is wrapped in darkness; his soul, no man careth for it; his body, worn with stripes and toil, is at length committed to the earth like the brute that perisheth."

In practice, the system of American slavery presents the most revolting features. To detail them would require a volume. The Committee would direct attention to a few of them only, by way of example.

Connected with American slavery as you are probably aware, there is a vast internal slave traffic carried on between what are technically called the slave-breeding and the slave-consuming states. The victims of this odious trade are variously estimated at from 30,000 to 90,000 per annum. Taking the lowest estimate, the Committee would ask who can sum up the amount of guilt contracted by the traders on the one hand, and of suffering endured by the victims on the other? Neither can be computed. But, gentlemen, this inter-state slave-trade derives its chief supplies from the abhorred practice of rearing slaves, as cattle are reared, for the market. In some of the older states it is carried on professionally, and all means are employed to render it productive. The basest passions are elevated to the character of a pursuit. Compulsory unions are made by the proprietors of slaves; and if they prove unproductive, they are broken up without regard for decency or feeling. It is impossible, however, to refer with minuteness to the practices which prevail; it is sufficient to state, that the whole system is an outrage on religion and morals.

Another feature of American slavery is, that it practically dooms the great mass of the slave population to ignorance and vice. The severity of the laws against the instruction of slaves finds its commentary in the measures adopted by slave-holders to prevent the light of knowledge from penetrating their minds. Hence we find a heathen population in the midst of a country which boasts of its religious institutions. From them the Bible is systematically withheld. The great mass of them are destitute of the gospel, and ever will be under the present state of things. These are not mere assertions; they are admitted facts by all who have any knowledge of the slave states, their laws, and their practices.

In 1833, a Committee of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, to whom was referred the subject of the religious instruction of the coloured population, made a report which has been published, and in which this language is used:—

"Who would credit it, that in these days of revival and benevolent effort, in this Christian republic, there are *two millions* of human beings in the condition of *HEATHEN*, and, in some respects, in a worse condition. From long-continued and close observation, we believe that their moral and religious condition is such that they may justly be considered the *HEATHEN* of this Christian country, and will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world. The negroes are destitute of the Gospel, and *ever will be under the present state of things*. In the vast field extending

from an entire state beyond the Potomac to the Sabine river, and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are, to the best of our knowledge, not *twelve* men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the negroes. In the present state of feelings in the South a ministry of their own colour could neither be obtained NOR TOLERATED.

"But do not the negroes have access to the gospel through the stated ministry of the whites? We answer, No; the negroes have no regular and efficient ministry; as a matter of course no churches; neither is there sufficient room in white churches for their accommodation. We know of but *five* churches in the slave-holding states built expressly for their use; these are all in the state of Georgia. We may now inquire if they enjoy the privileges of the gospel in their own houses, and on our plantations? Again we return a negative answer. They have no Bibles to read by their own fire-sides—they have no family altars; and when in affliction, sickness, or death, they have no minister to address to them the consolations of the gospel, nor to bury them with solemn and appropriate services."

The marriage tie is not permitted to slaves. Hence the unions which they form are liable to be constantly broken up. The slaves feel this most acutely. But what avails it? Their feelings and their affections are utterly disregarded. The agonies of a slave mother, bereaved of her children, are no more respected than the lowing of cattle after their young. But the Committee beseech you, gentlemen, to remember that this state of things involves a direct violation of God's ordinance of marriage, and leads to a system of immortality too gross to be portrayed, and too hateful to be endured, in any community where slavery does not exist. In the case of religious slaves, separated from each other by sale or otherwise, the Baptist Church decided in 1835, that they were to be regarded as civilly dead, and might, therefore, form new connexions.

In the sale of slaves, it occasionally happens that some of this unhappy class are Christians. Favoured by some providential circumstances, they have learned to value the gospel and embrace the Saviour. In these cases, to enhance their value in the market, the fact of their Christianity is dwelt upon with more than ordinary eloquence. But what, gentlemen, is this, but putting up the image of the Redeemer for sale, and vending in the public market-places the graces of the Holy Spirit? Thus we perceive that in the practice of American slavery, the most daring profanity is linked with so great an amount of atrocious cruelty and moral turpitude as to fill every rightly constituted mind with feelings of horror and dismay.

It is against this execrable system that American and British Abolitionists lift up their voices, and demand with unceasing energy, its immediate and total abolition. If, gentlemen, under a keen sense of the degradation and outrage inflicted on the helpless and unoffending—if, viewing their innocent fellow-creatures manacled, lacerated, and destroyed, under a system of relentless tyranny—if, beholding their fellow-men stripped of their manhood, and women, the glory of men, stripped of their liberty and virtue—if seeing the father unable to protect his son, the mother her daughter from cruelty and infamy, they have sometimes denounced not only the system which admitted of these crimes, but its supporters and abettors—if in the excess of their zeal they have not always acted with discrimination and prudence, surely they might be forgiven this wrong.

The Committee do not make these remarks by way of apology for any who may have been betrayed into the use of language unworthy the dignity of the great subject they have advocated, or which may be supposed to violate the courtesies and charities of life; but they do feel it to be necessary to request you to turn your thoughts away from the advocates of the slave, whose measures you may condemn, to the consideration of the wrongs of the slave himself, and in his person to vindicate the claims of humanity, justice, and religion.

On the character of the recent exciting meetings which have been held in Scotland, the Committee pronounce no judgment, inasmuch as they are neither responsible for their origin, the mode in which they have been conducted, nor for their results. They feel it, however, to be a duty to entreat you to deal with the question to which public attention has been directed, on its own merits, with that calm and unbiassed judgment which is necessary for its proper decision.

By some the heavy charges brought against the American slave system are said to be grossly exaggerated, and one fact is usually

adduced to prove it—namely, the increase in the slave-population. The Committee admit that increase; but, gentlemen, a slight glance at the statistics of the subject will convince you that that increase is dreadfully disproportionate to that of the free people of their own colour, notwithstanding all the means resorted to in the slave-breeding states to produce a different result.

The slave population of the United States in 1820, amounted to 1,538,064; in 1830, to 2,009,031; and in 1840, to 2,487,355. The increase in the first decennial period was 470,967, or nearly 31 per cent.; during the second decennial period it was only 477,398, or but little more than 23 per cent.; representing a loss of life between the two periods, on the slave population, of about 150,000! a palpable proof of the murderous severity of the American slave system. But when we come to compare the relative longevity between slaves and the free men of colour, the case assumes a more fearful aspect still. According to Porter, who has examined the tables of population with scientific care, it appears that the number of free people of colour between the ages of ten and fifty-five, in every ten thousand of that class is 6,243, whereas among the slaves, it is but 5,195, showing a loss of life between these ages of 1,018. Between 55 and 100 the disparity is still greater: free people of colour, 736; slaves, 406. From these facts the general severity of the slave system may be gathered. Now it must not be supposed that the slaves are less prolific than the free people of colour. The reverse of this is the fact. The case stands thus: Free people of colour under ten years of age, 2,884, slaves, 3,394. It is necessary to refer to the practices resorted to in the slave-breeding states to account for this fact, for there production outweighs every other consideration. Another word is not, the Committee presume, required to prove the murderous cruelty and disgusting immorality of this atrocious system.

But it may be asked, what have these statements to do with the American Churches; are they not the guardians of truth, the exemplars of purity, the enemies of slavery, the friends of the oppressed? You do not mean to bring an accusation against them? Yes, gentlemen, speaking generally, the Committee are compelled to say that they are the bulwarks of American slavery. Take any branch of the Churches in the slaves-states, you please, with two or three honourable exceptions, and you will find them not only the apologists, but the abettors of slavery, and the most determined opponents of abolition.

The Committee have before them the proceedings of many of these Churches, or branches thereof, to some of which they will briefly refer. The Charlestown and Carolina Baptist Association, in a Memorial to the Legislature says, "The undersigned would represent that the said association does not consider the Holy Scriptures have made the fact of slavery a question of *morals* at all." And adds, "*The right of masters to dispose of the time of their slaves has been distinctly recognised by the Creator of all things.*" The Union Presbytery of the same city avow their opinions as follows:—"Resolved, that in the opinion of this Presbytery the holding of slaves, so far from being a SIN in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in his Holy Word; that it is in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, &c. The Synod of Virginia has declared its opinion in the following terms:—"Resolved unanimously, that we consider the dogma fiercely promulgated by the said anti-slavery associations—that slavery, as it actually exists in our slave-holding states, is *necessarily sinful*, and ought to be immediately abolished, and the conclusions that naturally follow from that dogma, as *directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the Word of God.*" It cannot be wondered at that the men who could be parties to such declarations as these should pronounce the Abolitionists to be actuated by "*a misguided and fiendish fanaticism*;" or that a clergyman of Virginia should close a letter, "To Sessions of the Presbyterian Congregations, within the bounds of the West Hanover Presbytery," in the following words:—"If there be any stray goat of a minister among us, tainted with the blood-hound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferretted out, silenced, excommunicated, and left to the public to be disposed of in other respects.—Your affectionate brother in the Lord, Robert N. Anderson." From an address circulated in South Carolina, written by a clergyman of the M. E. Church, the Committee make the following extract:—"From what has been premised, the following conclusions result:—1. That slavery is a judicial visitation. 2. That it is not a moral evil. 3. That it is supported by the Bible.

4. It has existed in all ages. *It is not a moral evil.* The fact that slavery is of Divine appointment would be proof enough with the Christian that it cannot be a moral evil. So far from being a moral evil, *it is a merciful visitation*—“*IT IS THE LORD'S DOING AND MARVELLOUS IN OUR EYES.*” And had it not been for the best, God alone, who is able, long since would have overruled it. *IT IS BY DIVINE APPOINTMENT.*” A clergyman of North Carolina, in his sermons on the rights and duties of slave-holders, maintained the following propositions. “*That no man nor set of men in our day, unless they can produce a new revelation from Heaven, are entitled to pronounce slavery wrong; and that slavery, as it exists at the present day, is agreeable to the order of Divine Providence.*” The Divine rights of slave-holders he set forth in all their fulness; their duties he held to be the moral obligation to punish slaves when they deserved it, not however to chastise them when in a passion, nor to overwork them; and to be careful to have the slave-children baptized, and orally taught to say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments.”

These sermons received the approbation of the bishop of the diocese, were published, and extensively distributed in vindication of the claims of the Episcopal Church to be considered the champion of slavery. Nor was this all. In South Carolina “The Society for the Advancement of Christianity,” consisting of clergymen and laymen, with the bishop at their head, reprinted them as a religious tract for gratuitous distribution. In 1844, the writer, Dr. Freeman, was elevated to the bench as Bishop of Arkansas and Texas, a fitting reward for so important a service. To multiply quotations is unnecessary. The Committee feel persuaded that you, gentlemen, must have been revolted by the references already made. How different in their spirit and truthfulness are they to the noble decision of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States in 1793, when it adopted the “judgment” of the New York and Pennsylvania Synods in favour of “universal liberty;” and appended in 1794 the following as a note to the eighth commandment as expressing the doctrine of the Church on slave-holding:—

“1 Tim. i. 10, The law is made for man-stealers. This crime among the Jews exposed the perpetrators of it to capital punishment; Exodus xxi. 15; and the apostle here classes them with sinners of the first rank. The word he uses, in its original import, comprehends all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or in retaining them in it. *Hominum fures, qui servos vel liberos abducunt, retinent, vendunt, vel emunt.*—Stealers of men are all those who bring off slaves or freemen, and KEEP, SELL, OR BUY THEM. To steal a freeman, says Grotius, is the highest kind of theft. In other instances, we only steal human property, but when we steal, or retain men in slavery, we seize those, who, in common with ourselves, are constituted by the original grant lords of the earth.”

But alas! for its consistency. In 1816, the General Assembly, while it called slavery a “mournful evil,” directed the ERASURE of the note from the eighth commandment. Two years afterwards it adopted an “expression of views,” in which slavery is called “a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature,” but it only called on the violators of those rights to exert themselves to get rid of slavery “with no greater delay than a regard to the public welfare demands.” But since that time nothing has been done to promote the abolition of slavery.

To how great an extent the Church has become tainted with this crime may be gathered from a declaration of the Rev. J. Smylie, of the Amite Presbytery, Mississippi, in a pamphlet published four or five years since. He says—“If slavery be a sin, and advertising and apprehending slaves, with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the Divine law, and if the buying, selling, or holding a slave, FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN, is a heinous sin and scandal, then verily, THREE-FOURTHS OF ALL THE EPISCOPALIANS, METHODISTS, BAPTISTS, and PRESBYTERIANS, in ELEVEN STATES OF THE UNION, are of the devil. They ‘hold,’ if they do not buy and sell slaves, and with few exceptions, they hesitate not to ‘apprehend and restore’ runaway slaves, when in their power.” Such being the case the Church has become powerless for testimony against the sin of slavery.

Last year the Free Church pronounced a heavy condemnation upon American slavery as it exists in practice. You declared that there could be “no question as to the HEINOUS SIN involved in the institution of American slavery.” But you did not condemn slavery *per se*. You observed, however, that “whatever rights

the civil law of the land may give a master over his slaves as *chattels personal*, it cannot but be a sin of the deepest die in him to regard or treat them as such; and whosoever commits that sin in any sense, or deals otherwise with his slaves than a Christian man ought to deal with his fellow-man, whatever power the law may give him over them, ought to be held disqualified for Christian communion.” Your condemnation is here levelled against the oppressive slave-master, not against the system which he upholds. You treat the relation between master and slave as innocent: you launch your thunders only against its abuse. At least such is the conclusion to which the Committee have arrived in reviewing your decision. Now, if the enslavement of innocent human beings, and their posterity after them, no matter under what plea, or circumstance, be not *malum in se*, there is an end of the argument; and the principle of judgment must thenceforth be applied, not to the institution, but to the conduct of the individual who abuses it to the injury of his slave. But, in the judgment of the Committee, the institution is itself the greatest abuse. Look at its origin, its tendencies, its results. They bespeak its nature and its opposition to God and goodness. It is absurd, the Committee venture to think, to say that a man may be held as a slave, but not be treated as such; that he may be regarded as chattel personal, but not used as such; that the legal relation may be maintained, but that the rights belonging to it may not be claimed. Slavery they hold to be evil, only evil, and that continually. And in maintaining this view they but assert an old doctrine under which most of the ancient forms of slavery disappeared.

In the *Jus Municipale Magdeburgense*, ascribed to the Emperor Otho the Second, the author, after attempting to show that neither Cain, nor Ham, nor Esau, nor Nimrod, introduced slavery, proceeds thus:—“How could Noah or Isaac bring any one else into slavery when no one can give even himself into slavery? But, in truth, we find slavery to have its origin in war, captivity, oppression; and ancient princes, by custom of long time, have usurped it, as though it were of right, *whereas it is against equity.*—

“For the most High God is believed to have formed man in his own image, and redeemed one as much as another by his passion, and made him free by his glorious blood. *How then can so noble and magnificent a liberty be reduced to slavery?*” The *Jus Provinciale Suevicum*, in a spirit which would do honour to the most enlightened times, asserts that there is nothing in Scripture to sanction slavery; and prays God to pardon the man who first imposed it on mankind. The *Speculum Juris Saxonici*, one of the later compilations of German law, observes:—“As far as we can perceive, there is no example of slavery, according to the truth of Holy Scripture and the divine law.” “The Lord Jesus also, in the temptation of the coin, indicated that no man was the property of another, saying, ‘Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.’ From these words it is collected that man belongs to God; and he who keeps him in bondage sins against the power of the Almighty.” These laws were the embodiment of the public sentiment of the times in which they were compiled; and clearly show that sentiment had its origin in the oppugnancy of revealed religion to slavery.

In 1102 a council was held in London by royal authority, at which were present the bishops and abbots of the whole kingdom. They agreed, among others, on the following important canon:—“Let no one henceforward on any account presume to carry on that wicked traffic (*nefarium negotium*) whereby men hitherto used to be sold in England like brute beasts.” In Ireland, “the whole clergy being assembled at Ardagh” (A.D. 1171) went a step further, and decreed “That in all places of the island the English should be released from the chain of servitude and restored to liberty.” The traffic in men they had previously condemned as “enormous wickedness.” In the times of Wycliffe, “It became a prevailing opinion,” says Dr. Henry, “among the people of all ranks that slavery was inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the rights of humanity, offensive to God, and injurious to man. Wycliffe and his followers,” he adds, “inculcated this doctrine with great warmth, and their declamations had a great effect. “And let it be remembered that the recognition and application of the doctrine, that slavery is a sin against God, and ought, therefore, to be abolished, has led to the most triumphant results. It has led to the legal extinction of slavery in every part of the British empire; and is destined, the Committee believe, to overthrow that giant iniquity in the United States. But in order to effect this, there must be no compromise with slave-holders, no recognition of that

spurious Christianity which, while it professes to honour its Divine Founder, wrings from the coerced toil of slaves the means of its support; which affects to feel for the miseries of the heathen abroad, but has no bowels of compassion for those who perish at home.

The Commissioners of the Free Church went to the United States on what was regarded by many as a noble errand; they were welcomed with affectionate respect; and had they confined their mission to the free states they would have been welcomed home again with joy. But they did not do this. They travelled into the slave states; they fellow-shipped with slave-holders; they received their hospitalities, and took their gold to cast it into your treasury. By this act they struck a blow at the very heart of abolition, which has been felt and deplored on both sides the Atlantic. And, not content with this, they have libelled the character of the faithful band of Abolitionists in the United States, and by that means attempted to bring them into disrepute. Had they used as much diligence in making their acquaintance as they did in securing the contributions of slave-holders, the result would have been different; at least they would have been more discriminating, if not more temperate, in their censures. They were warned. The Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society addressed them a faithful remonstrance, on the 2nd April, 1844, in which they set before them in vivid colours the true character of the slave system in its religious aspects; and affectionately exhorted them to refuse all connexion with it. One paragraph from the address will show its spirit. "The Christian Abolitionists of this land need your aid, dear brethren, in pulling down the strongholds of oppression; and they feel that you will not be sustained by your consciences, or by that numerous and venerated body which you represent, if you directly or indirectly oppose them, by strengthening the hands of their opponents. You will hear the Abolitionists of this country denounced by ministers, elders, and private professors of the Presbyterian Church, as well at the North as the South; but in order to judge how far the denunciations are correct, you will naturally compare their doctrines and measures with the doctrines and measures of the Abolitionists in Great Britain, and not take up an evil report on hearsay, and without due investigation." * * * * * "For twelve years the Abolitionists of this country have been contending with great earnestness, amidst reproach and contumely, not only from the slave-holding states, but from interested politicians, and professing Christians of every denomination, for the poor slaves, our brethren and fellow-countrymen, and for their own rights and privileges, as intended to be secured to them by their constitution and government. Believing that the American Church is the bulwark of American slavery, they have laboured to arouse it to a due sense of its sin, to repentance, and works meet for repentance. Some progress has been made. Our Christian brethren in England, Ireland, and Scotland have aided in the good work by their prayers to God, and their remonstrances with the American Church. With this aid we have sought to sever the unholy alliance subsisting between the slave power and the professed followers of Christ." In concluding their appeal, they say—"But should you, despite of our friendly warning and urgent Christian remonstrance, solicit money acquired by the sale of American Christians, and men made heathen by the cruel system of slavery, we can only express our firm confidence that your constituents, the Free Church of Scotland, will refuse to receive the polluted silver and gold, and return it to those who gave it."

To the Committee it is a deeply affecting circumstance to find that some men of reputation and standing in the Free Church of Scotland are engaged in defending the slave-holding churches of the United States, by an attempt to prove that slave-holders were admitted to communion in the apostolic churches, and that what they did, the churches of Christ, in these days, may do, and, in point of fact, ought to do.

It has hitherto been one of the chief glories, as well as one of the brightest evidences of the truth of Christianity, that by the force of its principles it has overcome some of the most revolting and bloody practices of ancient times, slavery among the rest; and that were its just and benign precepts universally applied, the crimes which now so deeply afflict and degrade humanity, would speedily disappear. To make this divine system the patron of slavery, because some of its professors practice or wink at the iniquity, is, in the judgment of the Committee, a wickedness scarcely to be paralleled by the sin which it is intended to uphold. Happily the moral sense of the Christian people of this country will not admit of so

revolting a plea; and, it may be added, the consciences even of slave-holders themselves will not allow of its validity. But what was the nature of that slavery which, it is affirmed, was sanctioned by the Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles? "According to the strict principles of the Roman law," says Mr. Long, "it was a consequence of the relation of master and slave that the master could treat the slave as he pleased; he could sell him, punish him, or put him to death." Slaves were held *pro nullis, pro mortuis, pro quadrupedibus*, and for worse than even this as A. Faber has shown. As to their practice, "time would fail us," says Potgiesser, "should we recount the various kinds of tortures which the Romans reserved for their slaves alone." Did the Divine Founder of Christianity, or his immediate disciples, sanction this system of guilt and misery? As well might it be said that they sanctioned the bloody gladiatorial shows then prevalent, or the fierce despotism of Nero, under which some of them suffered, because they did not in express words condemn them.

The Committee have been led further than they intended in this communication; but they feel it to be their solemn duty to protest against the proposition that slave-holders, whatever their professions or pretensions, are fit and proper persons to be admitted to the sacred fellowship of the Christian church; and they would earnestly implore you, gentlemen, as the representatives of an influential and important branch of that church, to give forth your testimony to that effect; and by way of giving emphasis to that testimony, to restore the money which in an evil hour your Commissioners were induced to receive from the hands of slave-holders. Gentlemen, had these slave-holders presented to your representatives slaves instead of money, they would have indignantly refused the gift. Yet the money which they received, may have represented, in some instances, the value of men, women, and children, who had been cruelly deprived of their liberty; or, at all events, the value of their uncompensated toil, a toil wrung from them by the fear or the torture of the whip. Such money comes not with a blessing, but a curse. They would therefore hope that not one farthing of it will ever be allowed to be appropriated to the purposes of the Free Church.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Committee,

Yours respectfully,

JOHN SCOBLE, *Secretary*.

NOTE.—Since writing the above, the Committee have received extracts from a sermon preached at Philadelphia, a short time since, by the Rev. Albert Barnes, of the New School Presbyterians, a name deservedly honoured on both sides of the Atlantic, from which they make the following selections:—"Let all evangelical denominations but follow the simple example of the Quakers in this country, and slavery would soon come to an end. There is not vital energy enough—there is not power of influence and numbers enough *out of the church*, to sustain it. Let every religious denomination in the land *detach itself* from all connexion with slavery, without saying a word against others; let the time come when in all the mighty denominations of Christians, it can be announced that *the evil has ceased with them for ever*; and let the voice of each denomination be lifted up in kind but firm and solemn testimony against the system—with no 'mealy' words; with no attempt at apology; with no effort to throw the sacred shield of religion over so great an evil, and the work is done. There is no public sentiment in this land—there could be none created—that would resist such a testimony; there is no power *out of the Church* that could sustain slavery an hour if it were not sustained *IN IT*."

THE SUGAR DUTIES.

The alteration in the sugar duties proposed by Sir Robert Peel, and the amendment intended to be moved thereon by Lord John Russell, have engaged the attention of the Anti-Slavery Committee; and, in conformity with one of the fundamental principles of the Society, they have again laid before the Legislature and the Country their views on the important question.

There are now three propositions before the country in relation to those duties: First, Sir Robert Peel's. The honourable baronet intends to propose to Parliament that the present duty on sugars not equal to white clayed (Muscovados), the produce of British possessions in America, of Mauritius, and of the East Indies, shall be 14s. per cwt.; and on sugars equal to white clayed—that is, the finer class of unrefined sugars—shall be 10s. 4d. per cwt. Instead,

however, of the present differential duty on foreign sugars, the produce of free labour, of 9s. 4d. per cwt. in the case of Muscovados, and 12s. 8d. per cwt. in that of clayed, over and above the duties charged on sugar of equal qualities from the British possessions abroad, Sir Robert intends to reduce them to 5s. 10d. and 8s. 2d. per cwt. respectively; so that, if he carries his measure, the duties will be, on British Muscovados, 14s. per cwt., foreign Muscovados 19s. 10d. per cwt.; on British clayed sugars 16s. 4d. per cwt., on foreign clayed sugars 24s. 6d. The duty on foreign slave-grown sugar to continue as at present, 63s. per cwt. Secondly, Lord John Russell's. The noble lord proposes that the duties on British sugars shall continue as at present; but that the differential duties on foreign sugars, without distinction of origin, whether raised by free men or by slaves, shall be the same as those intended to be applied by the Government to sugars free from the taint of slavery. Thirdly, that of the Anti-Slavery Society. The Committee propose that the duties levied on sugar, the produce of free labour, whether raised in the British possessions or in foreign countries, shall be equalized. In other words, that the differential duties on this class of sugars shall be wholly done away. In conformity with these views the Committee proposed, at a special meeting, held on the 2nd June, 1846, the following resolutions—viz.,

"1st. That every fiscal regulation which would extend or consolidate the system of slavery in foreign states, or stimulate and increase the African slave-trade, ought to be firmly resisted by the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the United Kingdom.

"2nd. That the amendment of which the Right Hon. Lord John Russell has given notice that he will move, when the proposition of the Government relating to the sugar duties shall be brought under the consideration of Parliament—namely, that foreign sugars, whether the produce of free or slave-labour, shall be allowed to be imported into Great Britain and Ireland on equal terms—would undoubtedly have that effect, and ought to be earnestly and energetically opposed.

"3rd. That the proposition of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, to levy a differential duty on foreign free-labour sugars of 5s. 10d. per cwt. on Muscovados, and 8s. 2d. per cwt. on the finer clayed sugars, as compared with sugars of similar qualities produced in the British possessions abroad, will, in their judgment, operate injuriously to the interests of the consumers of sugar in this country, retard the progress of improvement in tropical agriculture, both in the East and West Indies, and, above all, as there are just grounds for believing, prevent immediate measures from being taken for the abolition of slavery in the sugar colonies of one or more European powers.

"4th. That this Committee would, therefore, respectfully, yet earnestly recommend to the Hon. the Members of the House of Commons, the importance of equalizing the duties on sugar, the *bona fide* produce of free labour, whether imported from foreign states or from the British possessions, in order that they may come into full and immediate competition in the British markets, and would call on the friends of the anti-slavery cause generally to sustain this proposition."

These resolutions have been extensively advertised.

The Committee also adopted the following petitions to the house of Commons, as a further embodiment of their views, viz:—

"SHOWETH,—That your petitioners are fully convinced, from long and painful experience, that whilst slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the extinction of the slave-trade.

"That the coercive measures hitherto used for the suppression of the slave-trade, however much the members of this Society may differ in judgment on the lawfulness of employing such a mode for that purpose, must be pronounced to have signally failed of accomplishing their object.

"That slavery and the slave-trade having been happily abolished and declared unlawful throughout the whole extent of the British empire, it is in strict harmony with the principles and policy avowed by your honourable House to limit, as far as possible, the extension of slavery and the slave-trade in foreign states, and that this is due to the general freedom, civilization, and happiness of mankind.

"That it is an indisputable fact that the commerce which already exists in articles produced by slave-labour has greatly extended the system of slavery, and stimulated the slave-trade; and that should it be wholly unrestricted in future it will aggravate the sufferings of the slave, and still further multiply the victims of the slave-trade; whereas the exclusion of such articles, to the extent to

which it has been carried by the Legislature of this country, has undoubtedly operated as a severe check to the slave system, restricted its operations, and diminished the amount of its criminal profits.

"That your petitioners would, therefore, rejoice if your honourable House would take the necessary steps for giving practical effect to the principle of exclusion of slave-labour produce; and at the same time, equalize the duties on all produce raised by free labour, whether imported from foreign countries or from the British plantations and possessions abroad.

"Your petitioners would, therefore, earnestly and respectfully entreat your honourable House that when the proposed measure relating to the sugar duties shall come under its consideration, to refuse assent to any proposition that would strengthen the slave system on the one hand, or continue a system of differential duties on the other, between foreign free-labour sugar and that raised in British possessions abroad, and that your honourable House would be pleased to equalize the same, and thereby both discourage slave-holding and the slave-trade, and promote the abolition of slavery in those countries where, at present, it unhappily prevails."

This petition which was intended to be presented previously to the debate on the 12th ultimo, but has not yet been presented to the House of Commons by Lord Morpeth, in consequence of the debate on the sugar duties having been postponed.

The Committee further addressed a circular to the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause throughout Great Britain and Ireland, suggesting the propriety of their calling on their representatives in Parliament, to affirm the proposition of the Society, for the equalization of the duties on all free-labour sugar.

In transmitting copies of the resolutions and petition to the Members of the House of Commons, the Committee called their attention to the fact that the increase of commerce in cotton-wool with the United States had extended and strengthened the system of slavery in that country. They say:—

"About fifty years ago, slavery, in that country, appeared likely to become extinct. There was then but little demand for cotton-wool beyond the limits of the Union; but certain discoveries having been subsequently made in cleaning the article, the demand for it rapidly increased, and the result has been a vast extension of human slavery, with all its degradation and sufferings. The following table will prove that the extension of commerce has no tendency to destroy slavery, but on the contrary to strengthen it:—

1790,	Cotton exp ^d to			
	G ^t Britain,	189,316 lbs.	Slaves,	657,437
1800,	Do.	20,911,201	Do.	866,582
1810,	Do.	62,186,081	Do.	1,299,872
1820,	Do.	124,893,405	Do.	1,733,162
1830,	Do.	270,979,784	Do.	2,310,882
1840,	Do.	540,959,508	Do.	2,487,213
1845,	Do.	560,000,000	Do.	2,750,000

They go on to observe:—

"Now as similar causes produce similar effects, there can be no doubt that were the British markets open to the reception of the sugars of Brazil and Cuba the most frightful consequences would ensue. In those countries the importations of African slaves, under present circumstances, have gone on from year to year to an almost incredible extent, notwithstanding the presence and activity of fleets of British cruisers on the African coast. The resources of diplomacy have been exhausted in vain to prevail on the authorities to aid in the suppression of this dreadful traffic. The demands of commerce have broken through all restraints. The faith of treaties, national honour, the claims of humanity, the awful sanctions of religion have been trampled under foot for the love of gain. To remove the present fiscal restrictions on slave-grown sugars would open the flood-gates to the inhuman trade, and augment to a degree, which it is frightful to contemplate, the miseries, the degradation, and the enslavement of mankind."

And that they are not singular in this opinion, they quote in its support the deliberate judgment of men well versed in commercial transactions. For instance, that of "the highly respectable and wealthy house of Drake, Brothers & Co.," of the Havannah, who said, in a memorial to the Captain-General of Cuba, against the continuance of the slave-trade, "that they had no expectation of the price of sugar being improved, except by having the English

market opened to the produce of this island (Cuba), where, *if this could be effected even at a rate of 50 per cent. above the duty on English colonial sugar, still they should obtain for their produce double the amount they can obtain at present.* On the other hand, "they stated," that if a different policy in relation to the slave-trade were not followed, they were apprehensive that the English Government would become irritated at last, and adopt measures prejudicial to the general commerce and prosperity of the island, in the determination to put down a particular reprobated commerce." This is a practical view of the subject by practical and deeply interested persons.

Having concluded their statement, which we regret we cannot give at length, the Committee observe:—

"The question then arises, shall this great country which has relieved itself from the guilt of continuing the slave-trade, which has emancipated millions of slaves in its distant dependencies, so legislate now, as to stultify its own most glorious acts, and build up a system of atrocious wrong and cruelty in other countries, which it would not tolerate in its own? The Committee trust they value the interests of legitimate commerce as highly as the most ardent of its advocates; but, in their judgment, it would cease to be legitimate were it carried on at the sacrifice of human liberty and human happiness. The Committee would rejoice in the financial prosperity of the country, but they never could be parties to any measure which would connect that prosperity with the uncompensated toil of slaves; and they have too much confidence in the humane feeling, and Christian principle of their fellow-countrymen, to believe that they would ever willingly consent to advance their personal interests at the expense of the freedom of their fellow-men. They hate slavery. They love liberty. They laboured long, and, at length, successfully, to establish the rights of humanity in every part of the British empire; and now their mission is, in the use of all honourable means, to extend their principles, and diffuse their spirit throughout the world. To you, sir, as one of their representatives, is now presented the alternative of sustaining a system which brutalizes and destroys human nature, which robs innocent men, women, and children of their most precious rights, which degrades them to the condition of things, and derides and defies the authority of Heaven—or of crippling, where you cannot absolutely annihilate, its power."

Such are the views, and such has been the course taken by the Committee to sustain them. They deeply regret that any of their valued friends should differ from them, but they entertain no doubt that to shut out of the British market the sugars of Brazil and Cuba, is a sacred duty which the Legislature of this country owes to the enslaved millions of mankind.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SLAVERY.

UNITED STATES.—That our readers may have some idea of the vigorous manner in which the domestic slave-trade is carried on in the United States, we give below an exact copy of sixteen advertisements taken from one single Southern paper, the *Daily Southern Intelligencer*, of March 16, 1846, published at Vicksburg, Mississippi.

NEGROES! NEGROES!!—The undersigned pay particular attention to the purchase and sale of negroes, and persons wishing to purchase slaves, or having them to sell, will find it to their interest to give us a call. Field hands and house servants of both sexes, for sale by—Livingston, Hanna, and Co., Auctioneers and General Agents, No. 374, Washington-street.

NEGROES! NEGROES! NEGROES!—We have on hand several valuable negro men, at prices running from \$515 to \$650, thorough-bred and likely field hands; also, two excellent cooks and house-servants, one cook, washer and ironer at \$425; also, several boys and girls. Persons wishing to purchase slaves, either for field use or as house servants, will please call on us. We are constantly in the market, and those having negroes can always effect sale through us.—Livingston, Hanna, and Co.

FOR HIRE.—A family of NEGROES for the ensuing year, consisting of a man, and wife, and four children. The man is a first-rate blacksmith and drayman, the woman a fine cook and house-servant. Bond, with approved security, will be required for their hire. Apply to Livingston, Hanna, and Co.

At the City Auction, and Real Estate Mart, No. 374, Washington-street, south of the Post-office.—The following is a list of NEGROES now on hand and for sale, and we are daily receiving

orders to effect sales for more. One negro man, aged 46 years, a good ostler; one family, consisting of one man, and woman, and two children; one negro boy, aged seventeen years, a good shoemaker, and capital house-boy; one boy, aged twelve years, remarkably smart; one negro woman, aged thirty-one years, a good cook; fifteen likely negroes, of both sexes and various ages, suitable for field hands and house servants. We intend devoting particular attention to the purchase and sale of negroes, and persons having negroes to sell, or wishing to buy, will find it to their advantage to give us a call. Being well acquainted in the city and surrounding counties, we can give the fullest satisfaction to those who favour us with a call.—Livingston, Hanna, and Co.

NEGROES IN THE MARKET.—We have for sale a very likely NEGRO woman, thirty-five years of age, good house-servant, and indefatigable field hand. Also, her daughter, fourteen years old, good house girl and field hand, acclimated, and title fully guaranteed. Also, a negro woman, aged twenty-six, a first-rate cook, washer and ironer; and her infant child. These negroes are all highly recommended, and the titles clear.—Livingston, Hanna, and Co.

AUCTION SALES.—At the city auction room every Wednesday and Saturday, at 10 o'clock, a.m. Particular attention paid to the sale of NEGROES. Real and personal property of every description; trust and administrator's sales attended to on liberal terms, by D. Hansbrough & Co., Washington-street, a few doors north of Thatcher's Hotel.

FOR SALE.—At city auction room, one likely NEGRO man, good drayman, and can make himself generally useful. Can be seen at any time. Title good. D. Hansbrough & Co.

VALUABLE NEGROES FOR SALE.—At the city auction room. One splendid house woman, good cook, washer and ironer, aged about 25 years, active and sound; one second rate do; one valuable house-girl, aged 14 years. Bargains may be had if early application is made. Titles indisputable. D. Hansbrough and Co.

FOR HIRE.—Two good house-girls, 17 and 18 years old. Apply at the city auction room. D. Hansbrough & Co.

HOUSE SERVANT.—A likely house-woman for sale, at the city auction room; also a lot of clocks, cheaper than ever. Chairs, bedsteads, &c. For sale cheap, to close consignment, by D. Hansbrough & Co.

FOR SALE.—A valuable NEGRO boy, aged about 19 years, good cook and house servant, good gardener, &c.; can make himself generally useful. Apply to D. Hansbrough & Co.

BLACKSMITHS FOR SALE.—A Bargain.—A valuable young NEGRO man, good blacksmith, with good set of tools, will be sold cheap. Title clear. D. Hansbrough & Co.

FOR SALE CHEAP.—One splendid house-girl, 14 years old. Come quick, or you miss a bargain. D. Hansbrough & Co.

WANTED TO HIRE.—10 good farm hands, for which liberal prices will be paid. Apply at the city auction room.

FOR SALE.—A valuable NEGRO man; good field hand; aged 33 years. City auction room.

NEGRO BLANKETS.—10 different qualities of NEGRO blankets on hand and for sale cheap. Yes, very low, by Judson and Robinson.

PAULINE.—The following frightful illustration of slavery is extracted from the *Essex* (United States) *Transcript*:—Many of our readers have probably seen a paragraph stating that a young slave-girl was recently hanged at New Orleans for the crime of striking and abusing her mistress. The religious press of the north has not, so far as we are aware, made any comments upon this execution. It is too busy pulling the mote out of the eye of the heathen, to notice the beam in our nominal Christianity at home. Yet this case, viewed in all its aspects, is an atrocity which has, God be thanked, no parallel in heathen lands. It is a hideous offshoot of American Republicanism and American Christianity. It seems that Pauline—a young and beautiful girl—attracted the admiration of her master, and being, to use the words of the law, his "chattel personal to all intents and purposes whatsoever" became the victim of his lust. So wretched is the condition of the slave-woman, that even the brutal and licentious regard of her master is looked upon as the highest exaltation of which her lot is susceptible. The slave-girl, in this instance, evidently so regarded it; and, as a natural consequence, in her new condition triumphed over and insulted her mistress; in other words, repaid in some degree the scorn and abuse with which her mistress had made her painfully familiar. The laws of the Christian State of Mississippi



inflict the punishment of death upon the slave who lifts his or her hand against a white person. Pauline was accused of beating her mistress, tried, and found guilty, and condemned to die. But it was discovered on the trial that she was in a condition to become a mother, and her execution was delayed until the birth of the child. She was conveyed to the prison-cell. There, for many weary months, uncheered by the voice of kindness, alone, hopeless, desolate, she waited for the advent of the new and quickening life within her, which was to be the signal of her own miserable death. And the bells there called to mass and prayer-meeting, and Methodists sang, and Baptists immersed, and Presbyterians sprinkled, and young mothers smiled through tears upon their new-born children; and maidens and matrons of that great city sat in their cool verandahs and talked of love and household joys and domestic happiness; while all that dreary time the poor slave-girl lay on the scanty straw of her dungeon, waiting—with what agony the great and pitying God of the white and the black only knows!—for the birth of the child of her adulterous master. Horrible! Was ever what George Sand justly terms “the great martyrdom of maternity”—that fearful trial which love alone converts into joy unspeakable—endured under such conditions? What was her substitute for the kind voices and gentle soothing of affection? The harsh grating of her prison lock—the mockings and taunts of unfeeling and brutal keepers! What with the poor Pauline took the place of the hopes and joyful anticipations which support and solace the white mother, and make her couch of torture happy with sweet dreams? The prospect of seeing the child of her sorrow, of feeling its lips upon her bosom, of hearing its feeble cry—alone, unvisited of its unnatural father; and then in a few days, just when the mother’s affections are strongest, and the first smile of her infant compensates for the pangs of the past—the scaffold and the hangman! Think of that last terrible scene—the tearing of the infant from her arms, the death-march to the gallows, the rope around her delicate neck, and her long and dreadful struggles (for, attenuated and worn by physical suffering and mental sorrow, her slight frame had not sufficient weight left to produce the dislocation of her neck, on the falling of the drop) swinging there alive for nearly half-an-hour, a spectacle for fiends in the shape of humanity. Mothers of New England! such are the fruits of slavery. Oh! in the name of the blessed God, teach your children to hate it, and to pity its victims. Petty politicians and empty-headed Congress debaters are vastly concerned lest the “honour of the country” should be compromised in the matter of the Oregon boundary. Fools! One such horrible atrocity as this murder of poor Pauline “compromises” us too deeply to warrant any further display of their patriotism. It would compromise Paradise itself. An intelligent and philanthropic European gentleman, who was in New Orleans at the time of the execution, in a letter to a friend in this vicinity, after detailing the circumstances of the revolting affair, exclaims, “God of goodness! God of justice! There must be a future state to redress the wrongs of this. I am almost tempted to say, there must be a future state, or no God.”

BRAZIL.—RIPPING OPEN NEGROES.—Senor Geronimo Paez, director of a Brazilian diamond mine, having reason to suspect a negro of stealing diamonds, ordered him to be ripped open, when a magnificent rose diamond was found in his intestines. Encouraged by the success of this first experiment, he ordered it to be tried on the second, third, and fourth suspected negro, but in each case the victims were innocent: no diamonds were found. This result, however, did not check Senor Paez, who repeated this atrocious act upon two more negroes, but unsuccessfully. His conduct at last reached the ears of the proprietors of the mine, by whom he was summoned before the tribunal of Villa Bella. By the judgment delivered on the 25th February last, we learn that Paez was ordered to pay Senores Cifuentes and Co., the lessees of the mines of Brassala, the sum of 2,500 piasters, as the value of the five negroes of whom he had deprived the company by putting them to death, without any utility. No order was made for the first negro, as his death was for the *benefit of the owners!* For the *crime*, no proceedings had been taken.

THE FRENCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ALGIERS.

The French Anti-Slavery Society has lately addressed the following petition to the Chamber of Deputies, praying for the abolition of slavery in Algeria. We trust the discussion on the subject will not be deferred until the next session.

PETITION.

Messieurs,—

The Bey of Tunis has abolished slavery in his dominions. Europe is moved by this news. France is proud to see those principles, first proclaimed by her, sixty years since, penetrate into the countries of barbarous nations. In order to suppress piracy she sent her arms into Algeria. A mission having civilization for its end, such was the reason, such is now the title of her conquest. Thus only can she justify herself for having lavished so much treasure and so much blood on the soil of Africa. France would be unfaithful to her mission if she did not use her best efforts to extirpate the evil of slavery from these new regions which Providence has confided to her.

Up to this time, every thing shows that the present administration of Algeria is far from tending to this end, and of endeavouring to do away with the obstacles to its accomplishment.

According to a document published by the minister of war, there exists, in Algeria, in the towns and localities subject to the sway of the civil government, about 1,300 negro slaves. Those contained in the towns and in parts of the country subject to military rule, may be numbered at about 8,000 or 9,000. Total, nearly 10,000. This number much reduced by the departure or the poverty of several of the higher families, remains stationary in every part of the territory.

According to the same document, it appears that at Constantine, within the French dominions, the slaves are treated with much greater severity by their masters than they were during the time of the Beys.

Thus, after fifteen years of occupation, the statement of the government itself makes it appear that, in some respects, the state of affairs instead of being improved, is actually in a worse condition than it was at the time of the conquest.

It is affirmed that the importation of slaves becomes more and more unfrequent. This assertion is refuted by official documents. At Constantine, where apparently “the introduction had ceased, the number of slaves does not diminish, because the great tribes of the Sahari, the Talaghma, the Abd-el-Nour, the Harratas, dispose of their slaves to the townspeople.” The trade, in some points less ostensible, continues in reality, and that is why the number of slaves does not decrease.

It is true that their lot, aggravated at Constantine, is less hard in the other parts of the kingdom. It is, nevertheless, an avowed fact, that at Algiers, the slaves come to our magistrates, begging their emancipation, and asking to be employed as free workmen. Authority opposes to them the terms of the convention signed by Marshal Bourmont and the Dey of Algiers, in which it is guaranteed “that the liberty and property of all classes of the inhabitants shall be respected.” Without laying hold of the ambiguity of the terms made use of, the argument drawn from them in favour of slavery, should be limited, after all, like the capitulation, to the town of Algiers.

The negroes introduced into our African possessions are brought from Bornou, the country of Haussa, and, sometimes, even from Timbuctoo. The purchasers hasten their march across the desert as much as possible, on account of their fear lest the neighbouring tribes should pursue them. Of all the ways ever made, use of for the trade this is, perhaps, the most brutal; numbers of negroes fall during the period employed in crossing the desert—victims of fatigue, want of water, and privations of all kinds. Thus, numbers of men perish annually to keep up the number of 10,000 slaves of Algeria; for slavery there requires constant supplies; and it is a well-established fact, that “in the Tell, the negro children with great difficulty can stand the climate.”

A letter from Marshal Bugeaud declares that there are no more slave markets in Algiers, Bona and Oran. The honour of their suppression is probably due to that spontaneous and energetic instinct which renders the sight of a market for the sale of human flesh intolerable to the French colonists who have recently gone over from their mother country. But this is only a local fact. The administration ought to make it general. To work efficaciously at the abolition of slavery in Algeria, we must consider abolition a duty. Such should be the thought, the watchword of the military and civil officers, of the magistrates, and indeed of all the functionaries of the colony. Unhappily it is not so. The governor-general, on the contrary, seems to wish to palliate the vices of slavery. Under the pretext that we ought to regulate this branch of commerce with the interior of Africa, he has been led on by degrees to become the defender of the trade.

However, the French code has included the slave-trade in the list of crimes. The ninth article of the law, passed on March 4th, 1831, pronounces the penalty of from six months to five years' imprisonment on any one who shall wilfully have concealed, bought, or sold a black introduced by the traffic. The Chambers, the organs of public sentiment, have named the slave-trade "*the infamous traffic*." To repress it we enrol soldiers, we equip fleets, when with little expense we can attain in Algeria that end which we pursue at sea at so much expense, through so many perils and so many difficulties. If we tolerate slavery in the province, we indirectly encourage the trade.

Even the principle of abolition is written in our public laws. If this principle, again reiterated by the laws of 1845, only receives a gradual application in our colonies, it is because there the number of slaves equals or exceeds that of the masters; and that legislators have wished to be cautious in effecting the transition from slavery to liberty. Similar circumstances cannot be alleged as existing in Algeria.

Doubtless we must avoid impoverishing the poor people who, in the towns, already suffer from the dearness of provisions; but legislation could indemnify the masters by grants of lands of which it has the disposal. The administration itself seems to think, that if the trade were suppressed in an efficacious manner, it would, in a short time, be enough to abolish slavery in Algeria.

Looking at it in the sense of the interest of the slaves, the consequences of liberation would not inspire any inquietude; since, in the colony, "the number of free negroes is equal to, if not greater than the number of slaves; and the former, whose numbers increase every year, find advantageous employment under the civil government."

To resume, we pray that the law prohibiting the trade may be applied in Algeria, that the introduction of slaves thereinto, both by land and by sea, may be interdicted; that those imported from this time forth may be considered free, and that no slave-market whatever may be tolerated.

In the second place, it should be proclaimed that slavery in Algeria shall be abolished with the shortest possible delay.

That, which the Bey of Tunis could do in favour of humanity and of the liberty of mankind, shall France, Christian and liberal France of the nineteenth century, be unable to accomplish? Shall men be obliged to fly from the French dominions in order to recover in a Mussulman country their undeniable right to liberty?

(Signed)	CH. D'ASSAILLY.
DUFANT.	DUTRÔNE.
A. HAIN.	LUTTEROTH.
V. SCHELCHER.	A. THAYER.

The NARRATIVE of the LIFE of FREDERICK DOUGLASS may now be obtained on application at the Anti-Slavery Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.—Also, a full Report of the PUBLIC MEETING, held at FINSBURY CHAPEL, on the 22nd May last.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, WEDNESDAY, JULY 1st, 1846.

The conjunction of the three political parties, so graphically described by Mr. Cobden in his recent speech in the House of Commons, on the Irish Bill, has, by a decisive vote, compelled Sir Robert Peel to tender his resignation to the Queen. Lord John Russell has been summoned to Osborne House, and to his care has been intrusted the formation of a new ministry. It is not for us to speculate on the general policy of the noble lord on his accession to power; but on one question, and the question which most deeply interests us, he has declared his intentions, and, of course, that of his party—namely, to open the British markets to the slave produce of Cuba and Brazil.

In a commercial country like this, the noble lord will not be at a loss for reasons which shall fully satisfy the eager desires of merchants and manufacturers, that the introduction of this produce has become essentially necessary to its material interests and prosperity; that it is necessary even to the comforts of the poor; and that, as a source of revenue, it is scarcely to be regarded as of less consequence. The noble lord will enforce his general arguments by showing how extremely desirable it is to conciliate the governments of Spain and Brazil. To them the introduction of

their slave-grown produce into the British markets will be held out as a splendid bribe, to induce them to favour the import of our manufactures into their respective territories on moderate terms; and we should not be surprised if his lordship should urge that the arrangement which he proposes, is necessary to give completion to the series of free-trade measures which have already received the sanction of the Legislature and of the Crown. But in view of all the facts of the case, we think this line of argument more plausible than sound.

There is something, we admit, extremely captivating in the idea of liberty of commerce. It may, when viewed in the abstract, be extremely philosophical; but, we think, when calmly looked at in the light of existing circumstances, it may be found, in its completest sense, either impracticable, or, what is worse, absolutely injurious in its application. Can any man doubt, for instance, that if the principle of free-trade were applied to the introduction of the slave-grown sugars of Cuba and Brazil, it would have the tremendous effect of strengthening the systems of slavery which exist in those countries, of aggravating the sufferings and increasing the mortality of their slaves, and of imparting a fearful stimulus to the slave-trade?

Now it is to this point that we earnestly invite the attention of our countrymen.

The slave population of Brazil is estimated at 3,000,000; that of the Spanish Colonies, at about 900,000; or nearly 4,000,000 in all. About two-thirds of this number are engaged in agriculture; and, in consequence of the dreadful severity of the system under which they are placed, occasioning a great waste of life, in addition to the demand for the produce which they raise, it becomes necessary to import at least 100,000 Africans annually to keep up the strength of the slave-gangs. In connexion with these facts, it is unnecessary to publish in detail the dreadful catalogue of wrongs inflicted on the slaves, the deep degradation to which they are subjected, the dreadful atrocities inflicted on them, or the horrors and death associated with the slave traffic. These are too well known, and too deeply lamented by our readers, to require specific enumeration. But the question arises "Shall we voluntarily add, by the proposed commercial arrangements, to the number of victims of these foul crimes? or shall we not rather check, to the greatest possible extent, by our fiscal policy, the double iniquity of slavery and the slave-trade?" It is estimated by those who are anxious to open the British ports to the blood-stained produce of Cuba and Brazil, that the quantity of sugar required from those countries, in addition to that imported from free countries and our own colonies and possessions abroad, will be from 70,000 to 80,000 tons annually, with a constant tendency to increase in quantity. But, it requires the importation of large bodies of new slaves, at the present time, to meet the demand for slave-labour, and those importations will increase in proportion to the increase in demand for their produce. It is our deliberate conviction that the additional quantity of sugar, which, it is alleged, will be wanted, from Cuba and Brazil, under the arrangement proposed by Lord John Russell, will represent the labour of at least 50,000 additional slaves, and a capital of two millions sterling. Whence are these slaves to come? There is no increase, but a dreadful decrease, perpetually going on among the slaves. In Brazil that decrease is estimated, on the sugar plantations, at 5 per cent. per annum over the births; whilst in Cuba it is still heavier, ranging from 7 to 10 per cent. These slaves must be imported; and spite of all your diplomacy and cruisers, they will be imported. You give the stimulus, and you supply the means; and you as certainly strengthen and extend the slave-system by admitting their produce, as if you invested the capital which fitted out the slavers, and furnished the means for the enslavement of your fellow-men. You cannot escape the conclusion, nor the awful responsibility which it involves. Liberty of commerce, when it is wisely directed to promote the freedom and happiness of mankind, is a blessing of the highest order; when, however, it is so applied as to aid the oppressor, and to crush the oppressed, to enrich the slaveholder and to destroy the slave, then we hesitate not to pronounce it a curse and not a blessing.

This is our opinion; and hence we advocate, with all the ability we possess, the exclusion of slave produce from the British markets, and the introduction from all foreign countries of the *bonâ fide* produce of free labour, on equal terms with that from our own colonies and possessions abroad.

If it were simply a question of protection to the East and West Indies, our voice would be unheard, and our pen silent. We

should leave to others, what they might conceive to be, the defence of their interests. If the discussion merely involved the elevation or the prostration of either of the great political parties in the State, we should feel that we had no business with it as Abolitionists. We should leave them to fight it out as they best might. But believing it to be a subject which involves the liberty of millions of the human race, and that it places in imminent peril the freedom of millions more; believing it, therefore, to be a question far raised above party politics or selfish interests, we take our stand by the side of degraded and oppressed humanity and we challenge to our aid every Christian philanthropist and lover of his species throughout the kingdom. The liberty of man is more precious in our eyes than liberty of commerce; the cause of freedom more glorious than the prosperity of trade; and the general welfare of the human race more to be desired and struggled for, than the building up of private fortunes, or even the advancement of national prosperity.

We say to our countrymen, make the case your own; let your voices be heard in the Legislature. Tell your representatives that you will not purchase an extension of commerce with foreign nations, at the expense of an extension of slavery and the slave-trade. Tell your legislators, solemnly and firmly, that whilst you desire the most enlarged and friendly intercourse with the free nations of the earth, you are resolved, as far as in you lies, to restrict it with those who trample under foot the liberties, the affections, the hopes of millions of the human race; and who persist in outraging all that is sacred in human rights, and righteous in the laws of God.

For the present the Free Church of Scotland refuses to return the money which has been cast into her treasury by the slave-holders of the United States. Counselling by Drs. Candlish, Cunningham, and Duncan, she has resolved to continue her connexion with slave-holders, and to offer them her pulpits, and a free participation in her most sacred rites. This is very sad; and could we believe that the doctrines propounded by these reverend gentlemen were embraced by any large portion of the Free Church, it would be very alarming. For it would, if true, deprive the slave of his most cherished hope, and the advocate of the slave of his keenest weapon—namely, that slavery is, in itself, essentially criminal. The slave in the United States builds his hope of deliverance from bondage, on the presumption that his master, whether professedly Christian or infidel, has no right to his person, to his offspring—wife he is not permitted to have—or to his labour; that, in point of fact, he is his own, and that no man, under any pretext whatsoever, has any authority to deprive him of his liberty, or to hold him as a slave. The advocate of the slave presses the same doctrine on the conscience of the slave-holder, and in that conscience, unless indurated by long-continued crime, or quieted by the metaphysics and casuistry of doctors of divinity, his plea is admitted to be valid; and necessity only is set up by him in justification or palliation of his evil deed.

Slavery is not in itself sinful, say the Scottish doctors, though it may involve sin; for, say they, Christ and his apostles did not denounce or condemn it, or exclude from fellowship those who practised it, which they would undoubtedly have done had it been a criminal institution. Hence, Christians may sustain the relation of slave-holders without impeachment of their character; and be as innocent of wrong as if they fully recognised the right of their slaves to liberty, and treated them, in all respects, as their fellow-men, and their equals before the law.

In opposition to this, we believe that God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that whoever deprives any human being of the one or the other, is the enemy of man, and a traitor to God. And we further believe, that what the common sense and conscience of mankind asserts upon this subject, the word of God ratifies.

It is unnecessary, we suppose, that there should be an express denunciation of so enormous an evil as slavery. Why, long before the advent of the Saviour into the world, or the teachings of the apostles, slavery was considered to be one of the greatest calamities that could befall the human race; and the enslavement of free-men regarded and punished as a crime. Originally slaves were captives made in war, whose lives were forfeited, according to the military codes of those times. Death was commuted into the loss of liberty, and slavery, at length, became an organized system, detestable in all its features, and atrocious in its practice.

As a state or condition it was universally condemned; and the uses which Christ and his apostles made of it and its opposite, freedom, to shadow forth the blessings of the gospel on the one hand, or the fearful results of sin on the other, abundantly prove this. There was no necessity for an express condemnation of slavery, as it had already been condemned by the general voice of mankind.

But then, it is asserted, that slave-holders were admitted to the fellowship of the Christian Church. We simply deny this, and ask for the proof, if it exist. It will not do to infer it from the instructions given to masters and servants. Neither will it do to produce the case of Philemon. On a subject of such vital importance as this, we demand the most clear and unexceptionable evidence. That evidence, we feel assured, cannot be produced. Apply the great principles of righteousness and love which Christ taught, and which his apostles inculcated, and what becomes of slavery? Even the Scottish doctors admit, that were they applied to American slavery it would instantly cease. Now we infer that they were applied in the days of the apostles, and we should dishonour them, to suppose the contrary. We believe that both the Jewish and Gentile churches planted by their instrumentality, were free from the taint of slavery. That slaves were members of the primitive Church there can be no doubt, but that slave-holders were, there is not, in our judgment, the tittle of evidence to prove.

But it is not our intention to argue the question here. Other opportunities will be afforded us of bringing this matter in a complete form before our readers. In the meantime we ask them to read the memorial addressed to the Moderator and Members of the Free Church, by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, inserted in our present number, as the ground on which that body earnestly recommends to them the duty of "sending back the money." We would also call their attention to the article "on the Free Church of Scotland in its relation to American Slavery," which will also be found in our columns. That article embodies the official decisions of the Free Church up to its latest deliverance, in justification of its relation with slave-holders.

We regret that our space will not allow us to present our readers with an abstract of the proceedings of the American and Foreign and other Anti-slavery Societies, which have held their annual meetings in New York, Boston, and elsewhere. We are glad, however, to be able to state that the Anti-slavery cause is advancing, and that the forthcoming year is likely to prove one of great exertion, and, we trust, of great success. The following extract from the *Liberty Press* will show the view taken by the better class of American citizens of the disgraceful war now waging between the United States and Mexico:—

"Our readers will perceive that hostilities have actually commenced between Mexico and the United States. This is no more than was anticipated at the commencement of the efforts to rob Mexico of her territory. This is clearly a *war for slavery!* The Seminole war was a war to break up the refuge of the fleeing slaves in the everglades of Florida. The present war is a war for the extension of territory for the accommodation of slavery. This is clearly the issue, and an issue in which Mexico is clearly in the right, and this government is in the wrong. Mexico may 'be a heathenish Catholic country,' but this is a poor excuse for plundering her for the purpose of perpetuating the matchless crime of slavery. But Mexico, with all her moral degradation, had the virtue to *abolish slavery throughout her dominions!* and from this fact, mainly, sprung up the Texan revolution, which was fanned by American *patriotism (?)* and consummated by the aid of American men and money, until Texas was re-subjugated to the reign of the foul demon from which Mexico had freed her. Such is the cause of our difficulties with Mexico, and such the ground on which we stand before Heaven and men, in going into a deadly contest with an unoffending but deeply injured people! We have men and money, but we have a character among the nations to be sustained, or made a stench and a hissing, as well as a God of Justice, who are concerned; and who does not tremble for the result?"

We beg to state for the information of our female friends, that the anti-slavery fair, to which we have referred in previous numbers, will be held at Philadelphia about Christmas next; and that any articles they may wish to send can be forwarded to No. 27, New Broad-street, London, to the care of Joseph Sturge, by whom they will be remitted to their destination.

Literature.

Emancipation, immediate et complete, des Esclaves. Appel aux Abolitionistes. Par G. DE FELICE. Paris: Delay, 1846. *Immediate and complete Emancipation, &c.* By G. DE FELICE. Paris, 1846.

Here is a book worthy of the great subject of which it treats, and of the reputation of its distinguished author. Masterly in conception, in argument, and appeal, it cannot fail to make a profound impression on its readers. It is just such a production as the times require, and most fervently do we hope that its circulation will be as great as its merits. The temporising Abolitionists of France, to whom it is specially addressed, cannot, we think, resist the force of its principles, the array of its facts, or the suavity of its spirit. Converted to immediate abolition, they will, we trust, lay aside all their schemes for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, with a view to their ultimate emancipation and devote themselves with conscientious earnestness and zeal to the great work before them. But in order that consistency may be given to their efforts, and that success may attend their well-directed labours, they must organize on the principle of immediate and entire emancipation. It is not enough to admit the doctrine; it must be practically applied. Hitherto the friends of the slaves in France—and, we rejoice to say, there are many such—have been divided on the question of immediate emancipation: Each has had some scheme of his own for hastening the downfall of slavery; but the schemes of each and all have been successively rejected, and the Government, taking advantage of this state of things, first delayed the settlement of the question, and when public opinion would no longer endure its procrastination, concocted a measure which can never be worked out, and which must end in failure. In the meantime the poor slaves will have to endure all the horrors of their dreadful condition, aggravated by the feelings of their masters, who have been exasperated by the interference with their authority, contemplated by the act of July the 18th, 1845, and the ordinances which have been recently issued for giving it effect. The attitude assumed by these masters is one of hostility. They have determined to render every measure which curbs their power a dead letter. Our advice then is, deal with these men boldly, cut the ground of controversy from under their feet, deprive them at once of the right of property in their fellow-men, and adopt the principles which Professor de Felice recommends with so much eloquence and force. Among Frenchmen we have no doubt there will be, generally, a hearty response to his urgent appeals; and will they not find an echo in the Chamber of Deputies? The Count de Gasparin, the Marquis de Tracey, and M. Ledru Rollin, representing as they do different political sentiments, can render immense service to the cause of human freedom, by combination on the principle of immediate and entire emancipation. Let them do this, and this great question, which involves the liberty of two hundred and fifty thousand slaves, and, which so long as it shall remain unsettled, the honour of France, will receive a speedy and satisfactory solution. To M. de Felice we offer our warmest thanks for this well-timed and admirable production, and respectfully tender to him our cordial greetings on the courage he has displayed in grappling with the prejudices, the false principles, and the false reasonings of the pro-slavery party, and the success with which he has disposed of the hesitations and timid policy of the friends of the anti-slavery cause. We intend hereafter to give some specimens of this valuable contribution to anti-slavery literature.

Biography.

REV. CHARLES T. TORREY.

Our latest American papers are filled with notices of the lamented Torrey, whose decease in the penitentiary, Baltimore, Maryland, we noticed in the last number of the *Reporter*. We should have been happy to have transferred to our columns a series of articles which have appeared in the American journals devoted to the anti-slavery cause, in which a noble testimony is borne to the many Christian excellencies of Torrey, but our limits forbid. We must, therefore, be content to weave into a single article, the most important incidents contained in the papers before us.

Charles Turner Torrey was born in Scituate, Massachusetts, Nov. 1, 1813. He was left an orphan by the death of his father and mother while less than four years old. He was received and educated by his maternal grand parents. Mr. Torrey was educated at Exeter Academy, Yale College, and Andover Seminary, and settled in the ministry at Providence, Rhode Island. He continued there only about six months, —went to Salem, and was there a-year and a-half. Left August 1839.

In 1842, Mr. Torrey was seized and imprisoned for a week by the Slave-holding Convention at Annapolis, Maryland. Was first seized at Baltimore, June 25, 1844; was tried Nov. 29, 30, and Dec. 1, 1844,—sentenced to six years in the Penitentiary, and removed to the prison Dec. 30, 1844. His health began to fail in the autumn of 1845. He died May 9th, 1846, having been in prison one year and ten months. His end was peace. One of the Christian friends, who visited him on

his death-bed, thus speaks:—"Mr. T. was prostrate upon his bed, and so emaciated, that I could hardly believe that it was the Mr. T. that I formerly knew. With a smile of recognition, he extended his thin and feverish hand to me, and expressed his grateful emotions that he had not been forgotten by his friends at the north in his trials and afflictions. He seemed to be in a very desirable state of mind, and spoke of the present and the future with entire resignation of spirit. At his request I administered the Lord's Supper. It was, indeed, a solemn and impressive scene. He appeared to be lost in devout contemplation of the Redeemer, and though unable to say much, he obviously felt that the promises of that blessed Saviour were full of hope and consolation. The emotions of that hour cannot easily be forgotten." Another Christian minister, who visited him, says, he has "rarely, if ever, seen a more triumphant death-bed." Another writes:—"Charles T. Torrey is at last gone—freed from prison without the aid of the governor, leaving the funds offered to the owners of the slaves for whom he suffered the heavy penalty of the law, for his release, in the hands of those who will no doubt properly appropriate it to the wants of his bereaved wife and children,—which is well. He died at 2 o'clock P.M., on the 9th inst. in that calmness of resignation which became him, and yet hardly to be anticipated in a death watched over by the eye of the prison officials rather than that of the friends of his home and heart, whose soothing voice and careful ministrations are no trifles in the estimation of the departing."

As most of our readers are aware, the offence of C. T. Torrey was that of having counselled, aided, and abetted certain slaves to escape from their hard bondage. On this charge he was found guilty, and incarcerated in the prison-house where he died. It was during Charles T. Torrey's incarceration in the gaol of Annapolis, Maryland, in the winter of 1842, where he was confined for several days, merely for undertaking to report for a northern paper the proceedings of the Convention of Slave-holders then sitting in that city, that he is understood to have formed the plan of operations for the assistance of fugitive slaves, which has become so well known as "the underground railroad to Freedom." In referring to his labours in this direction, Mr. Torrey, in a letter to one of his friends, whilst he was in prison awaiting his trial, says:—"If I am a guilty man, I am a very guilty one; for I have aided nearly FOUR HUNDRED SLAVES to escape to freedom, the greater part of whom would probably, but for my exertions, have died in slavery." In referring to this interesting fact Mr. Stanton, in his eloquent funeral oration, remarks, "Ah, sir, when with the eye of calm contemplation, we see the constantly multiplying descendants of these four hundred enfranchised men, who, from generation to generation, when the name of their deliverer is handed down from sire to son, shall rise up and call him blessed, how cheap to one worthy to be called a man seem all the wreaths that brute courage ever gathered on the fields of battle, compared with such a legacy of thanksgiving and praise!"

One incident related by the Rev. Joseph C. Lovejoy, the brother of Mr. Lovejoy, who was murdered several years since at Alton, Illinois, by a pro-slavery mob, is represented to have made a deep impression on his auditory. It is known that a requisition from the State of Virginia impended over the head of Torrey, ready to be enforced whenever, by pardon or by the expiration of his six years' sentence, he should be released from the Maryland Penitentiary. He was charged with aiding the escape of John Webb and his two children from Winchester, Virginia. The circumstances are substantially these.

Emily Webb was born a slave; her husband, John Webb, was the property of Bushrod Taylor, of Winchester. Emily herself was born both the slave and daughter of a Virginia gentleman by the name of Carr, who treated her kindly, and delivered her over to her white brother. He designed to emancipate her, but dying intemperate, yielded to evil counsel, and she became the slave of Dr. Renke. This chivalrous gentleman allowed her a cottage to herself, and liberty to do what she pleased, *provided she delivered to him her children; free of charge for nurture, at the age of ten.* She lived, had thirteen children, four of whom died in infancy, and the rest went to her master on the above condition. Emily earned money, and purchased her own liberty. It was her intention to purchase that of her family, but the owner would not wait. It was his plan to sell them as soon as they were marketable. Two fled from him and took their liberty. Two were sold to the soul-drivers at a tender age, and both the father and mother laboured in vain to rescue them. As the last act, the father, who had been permitted by his master to visit them at Charlestown, Va., crept into the gaol-yard, and awakening them bailed out the youngest through the grate of the window. The older was too much grown to follow. "We must go on," said the father, "and leave poor George to be sold." "No," said the little boy, "I will go back and be sold with him," and he crept back through the grate, and they were sent to the south.

Emily, it seems, contrived to get the younger children out of the possession of Renke into that of Taylor, who owned the father. It was her plan to raise money to purchase them all. But Taylor was impatient at the slowness of the operation, and was about to sell them all; and it was at this time that the heroic mother, with Virginia's "best blood" in her

veins, interested Torrey to interfere. One night John Webb, with his youngest child in his arms, and another at his side, left the patriarchal roof of Bushrod Taylor, and Torrey met them with team and vehicle, and helped them on their way to freedom. This is the foundation of that charge for which proud Virginia will now have to bring her requisition in the court of Heaven, to get hold of the fugitive from her justice!

As to Heckrotte's slaves, the ground of the Maryland prosecution, Torrey never saw them till they were thirty miles from Baltimore. He had not the slightest hand in enticing them from their master, and might any time have cleared himself by giving up the name of the party who did, which he honourably refused to do. It was at the instance of a most respectable lady of Baltimore, who planned their escape, and could get no one else to assist in it, that he consented to drive the carriage which took them out of the state of bondage.

As soon as it became known that the death of Mr. Torrey was inevitable, a committee of arrangements met in Boston to prepare for his funeral, the erection of a monument to his memory, and to secure a provision for his amiable wife and children. The body, after having been injected with an arsenious preparation, was forwarded to Boston, where it arrived on Wednesday, the 13th of May; and on the following Monday was buried at Mount Auburn.

One of the Boston papers, the *Daily Courier*, gives the following account of the funeral:—

"The funeral services of this gentleman,—the martyr to his efforts in the cause of the slave, were celebrated at the Tremont Temple yesterday afternoon. The body of him who had died in vindication of the faith in which he lived, was deposited in a lower room of the Temple, in a plain coffin, and was an object of continual interest to an immense crowd of visitors. The great hall, in which the funeral services were performed, was crowded to discomfort in its every part—every aisle, or the floor, and gallery, as well as every seat of the temple being occupied. After the services commenced, the stream of ingress and egress was about equal—a crowd was continually gathering to enter, while an equal number was ready to escape from the press and heat within.

"The services commenced with the following hymn:

'Asleep in Jesus! blessed sleep,
From which none ever wakes to weep;
A calm and undisturbed repose,
Unbroken by the last of foes.

Asleep in Jesus! Oh, how sweet
To be for such a slumber meet!
With holy confidence to sing
That death has lost his venom'd sting!

Asleep in Jesus! Oh, how blest,
Thy conflicts end in heavenly rest;
Nor weeping friends, nor raging foes,
Shall ere disturb thy soft repose.

Asleep in Jesus! thus shall end
In peace, the sighing captive's friend;
He sleeps with Christ, his sorrows o'er,
With Christ to wake, and weep no more.'

"Portions of Scripture were then read by Rev. Mr. Horton, of the Wesleyan Church, a prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Colver, and the following hymn was sung:—

'Go to the grave, in all thy glorious prime,
In full activity of zeal and power;
A Christian cannot die before his time;
The Lord's appointment is the servant's hour.

Go to the grave: at noon from labour cease;
Rest on thy sheaves; thy harvest task is done;
Come from the heat of battle, and in peace,
Soldier, go home; with thee the fight is won.

Go to the grave:—from prison walls released!
Where tyrants bound thee, for thy work of love!
Thy sufferings ended, for the poor oppressed,
Go up, and rest thee with thy Lord above.

Go to the grave! no! take thy seat on high,
Near Mercy's throne, where tyrants never come;
Let thy pure spirit bask in love and joy,
And dwell for ever with thy Lord at home.'

"A sermon by Rev. J. C. Lovejoy, of Cambridge, a prayer and benediction, closed the services at the Temple.

"A long procession followed his remains to their resting-place at Mount Auburn. A monument to his memory will be raised in that cemetery, in the midst of the green beauty of the scenery which he loved in life, and side by side with the honoured dead of Massachusetts. Thither let the friends of humanity go to gather fresh strength from the memory of the martyr. There let the slave-holder stand, and as he reads the record of the enduring marble, commune with his own heart, and feel that sorrow which

worketh repentance." The people of colour, who were present in large numbers, testified by their deep sorrow how sincerely they mourned the loss of so devoted a friend. In the evening a meeting of the fellow-labourers of Mr. Torrey was convened in Faneuil Hall, where a splendid oration was delivered by H. B. Stanton, Esq., on the occasion of his decease.

Mr. Torrey was thirty-three years old when he died. One of his contemporaries thus adverts to him:—"Some seven years ago we saw Charles T. Torrey for the first time. His wife was leaning on his arm; young, loving and beautiful—the heart that saw them blessed them. Since that time, we have known him as a most energetic and zealous advocate of the anti-slavery cause. He had fine talents, improved by learning and observation, a clear, intensely active intellect, and a heart full of sympathy and genial humanity. It was with strange and bitter feelings that we bent over his coffin and looked upon his still face. The pity which we had felt for him in his long sufferings, gave place to indignation against his murderers. Hatred beyond power of expression, seemed the tyranny which had murdered him with the slow torture of the dungeon."

Justice will be done to his memory, and to the atrocious system which brought him, in the prime of his manhood and intellect, to the grave. The one will be embalmed in the heart of every true lover of his species; and the other will continue to be execrated until it be removed from the face of the whole earth. The MARTYR FOR LIBERTY will not have died in vain.

On the receipt of the melancholy intelligence of the death of Mr. Torrey, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, anxious to mark their high respect for his memory and their deep sympathy with his mourning friends, and to record their abhorrence of the whole system of American slavery, and the atrocious laws by which it is upheld, directed that the subject should be brought under its consideration at its next general meeting. The result of their deliberations we give in the following resolutions, which it is hoped may be extensively circulated in the United States.

"At a General Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held at No. 27, New Broad-street, London, on the 19th June, 1846,

REV. JOHN H. HINTON in the Chair,

"It was unanimously resolved:—

"That this Committee have learned with profound regret the decease of the Rev. Charles T. Torrey in the Penitentiary, at Baltimore, Maryland, to which he had been sentenced for a period of six years by the criminal court of that state, for having aided certain fugitive slaves in their escape from bondage.

"That they deeply sympathise with his afflicted widow and orphan children in their irreparable loss, by which they have been made, in common with himself, the victims of the inhuman and infamous slave system of the United States; and would earnestly recommend them to the protection of the Most High, and to the Christian liberality and care of Abolitionists, both in this and other countries.

"That the Committee would assure their oppressed fellow-creatures, the slave-population of the United States, of their increasing interest in their condition,—of the commiseration they feel for them in their sufferings, and of their determination to use every legitimate means for breaking their fetters, and for restoring them to the possession of that freedom to which they are entitled by right of nature, and as the gift of God.

"That they regard the law of slavery as atrocious in principle, a daring usurpation of divine prerogatives, and the greatest wrong that can be inflicted on mankind, and as a law which ought therefore to be earnestly, constantly, and zealously resisted by every friend of justice, humanity, and freedom.

"That the Committee consider the laws incidental to the state of legalized slavery, which render it criminal for free men to counsel and aid slaves in the recovery of their freedom, and in other ways to instruct and befriend them, as utterly disgraceful to a people professing their love to republican institutions, and their reverence for the righteous principles and benign spirit of Christianity.

"That they, nevertheless, rejoice, that in the United States the conviction is spreading and deepening, that slavery is not less a sin against God than an outrage upon man, and ought therefore to be immediately abolished; and they would encourage and urge all those who are labouring in this department of Christian duty to the most strenuous exertions until their great and noble object shall be fully accomplished.

"Finally—That the Committee would earnestly, yet respectfully, recommend to every section of the professedly Christian Church in the United States, to separate itself from all participation in, or sanction of the system of slavery, by a solemn and decisive act, and thus free itself from the charge of upholding an institution which is entirely at variance with natural justice and the law of Christian love.

(Signed) "THOMAS CLARKSON, President.
JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary."

SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

The law passed last session by the French Chambers relative to slavery in the French colonies, left several important points to be provided for either by royal ordinances or colonial enactments. After four months' delay the government issued two ordinances—the one having for its object the right of self-redemption on the part of the slave; the other to determine the mode by which grants of assistance from the public funds are to be made to deserving slaves. These ordinances have been promulgated in the French colonies, but all we have heard of their practical working proves them to be useless for good, and to have retarded rather than advanced the liberty of the slaves. This we foresaw and pointed out to our readers.

After the lapse of another eight months, or nearly one year from the passing of the law for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, three additional ordinances have been promulgated in the *Moniteur*, relating to the elementary and religious instruction of the slaves—the discipline to be allowed on the plantations—and to their maintenance and general treatment. The following will be found the principal enactments in these ordinances:—

INSTRUCTION.

On every plantation, before work in the morning and after work in the evening, the slaves are to be collected together for common prayer. On Sundays and fête days they are to receive, after service, religious instruction from the officiating minister, or some member of a recognised religious body. The masters are bound to see that the children from eight to fourteen years of age attend divine service. Besides Sunday instruction the slaves are to be taught, on some one of the week days, on every estate.

Elementary classes are to be established in every village or town, for children from eight to fourteen years old, who inhabit them or dwell within a circuit of two kilometres of them. Other classes are to be formed in rural districts, to be under the direction of the "Frères Instituteurs," a body of Roman Catholic schoolmasters.

School-mistresses are to be appointed for the instruction of young female slaves. The asylums to be established for the reception of boys under eight years of age, and of girls both under and above that age, are also to be under their care.

DISCIPLINE.

The right of punishment belongs to the master in cases of slaves refusing to work, disobedience of orders, absence from the estate, disturbances, drunkenness, indecency, and theft. In those cases, however, which are punishable by the tribunals, the master may, if it please him, refer the matter to them. In all other cases besides those enumerated, the masters are bound to place the offending slave in the hands of the Procureur du Roi, to be prosecuted in the ordinary way.

When the punishment ordered by a master does not exceed fifteen days' imprisonment, it shall be undergone on the estate. When it exceeds that term, the slave, with the permission of the justice of the peace, must be sent to the district prison, where, however, he is not to be confined for a longer period than three months. An order from the governor of the colony will fix the size, &c. of the place of confinement on the estates.

By Art. 4 of the ordinance, the use of fetters, chains, and bonds of any form or character whatever, is prohibited in the execution of the preceding orders. The employment of stocks (entrances) is only to be permitted in extraordinary cases, when notice must be given to the justice of the peace within twenty-four hours of their having been used.

By Art. 5, corporeal punishment is interdicted in the cases of slaves who by Art. 3. par. 2, of the Law of the 18th July, 1845, are exempted from the performance of the amount of work exacted by the 1 par. of the same Article; that is, as we understand it, in the cases of young, aged, and infirm slaves. The punishment of the whip is to be continued in the case of male slaves who are competent to do full work. It may not, however, be inflicted to a greater extent than fifteen lashes at any one time, nor at lesser intervals than one week. The whip is not to be carried by the drivers in the field, nor must punishment by it be inflicted until six hours after the fault has been committed, and then it must be done in the presence of the whole gang. The masters are bound to keep a registry on every plantation, in which are to be entered the cause of offence, the nature and length of punishment, the same to be endorsed by the justice of the peace; and certified extracts must be furnished by the mayor to the magistrates in each of their circuits.

MAINTENANCE.

The third ordinance fixes the amount of rations to be given to the slaves by their masters, whether it be cassada-meal, rice or maize, fresh or salt-meat, for persons of both sexes and different ages. These rations are to be distributed weekly, on such days as the governor may determine. Every slave of fourteen years old and upwards may demand one day per week in order to provide his own food. The arrangement he may make with his master must be verbal, in the presence of four adult slaves. The justice of the peace may, if he think fit, suspend the arrangement, either at the request of the master or the slave. On these days the slave shall have the right of hiring himself out, on condition of keeping his plot of land in good order.

This ordinance also fixes the size and appurtenances of the huts, and

leaves to the governor to regulate the union of families, the separation of the sexes, &c. It fixes also the clothes to be distributed among the slaves during the rainy season, and enacts as follows respecting the sick and infirm.

Art. 8. Besides food, clothing, and lodging, the masters owe their slaves maintenance, succour, and protection, in sickness and infirmity as well as in health, either in their own houses or in the huts of said slaves. On plantations containing more than twenty slaves, including free workmen and hired slaves, a house should be erected specially for the purpose of a hospital, in which the sick or infirm may be properly attended to. The hospital must be built either of brick or of wood. The floor must be planked, and the room divided into stalls for the patients, and be provided with beds and linen in proportion of one bed to twenty workpeople. Every proprietor of an estate comprising more than twenty slaves must employ a medical man, duly licensed; and he is required to keep a medicine chest in his house, the size of which is to be regulated by the number of slaves on the estate. The medical man is required to remark on each visit, and to inscribe the same in a book to be kept for that purpose by the proprietor. Once a month a report must be made of the state of the medicine chest, the names of the sick persons, and the nature of their maladies. This register must be shown, when demanded, to the magistrates appointed to protect the slaves.

Art. 9. Those slaves who, on account of their age or other infirmities, are partially or totally exempted from work, have a right to care, food, and maintenance from their masters. Those who have been abandoned, or to whom their masters do not give necessary support, shall be taken care of by the authorities, at the master's expense, and be subjected to the penalties imposed by the law of the 18th July, 1845.

There yet remains another point to be regulated by royal ordinance, and that is, the important subject of marriage, its conditions, forms, and effects. We shall be curious to know how the French government will provide for the execution of this part of the law of 1845. For our parts, we are satisfied, that if this be done in good faith, and with a full recognition of the moral and social obligations and duties which that holy and honourable relation enjoins, there is an end of slavery.

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND IN ITS RELATION TO AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The course which the Free Church of Scotland has taken, through its official organs, on the subject of American slavery, has deeply grieved many of its best friends. Considering the important position which that church occupies in this country, as one of the authoritative expositors of Christian doctrine and practice, it might have been reasonably expected that she would have spoken out in intelligible language on the monstrous crime which deprives three millions of human beings of their inalienable rights, reduces them to the condition of chattels, and provides for the perpetuation of this atrocious sin in the persons of their innocent offspring. It was believed that a church which could not endure a fetter upon its own limbs, would have been the foremost to have used every legitimate means for striking them off the limbs of the suffering and degraded slave. But she has not done this. At the present moment she sustains, with all the power of her influence and high name, the slave-holders of the United States, and is prepared to welcome such of them as sustain the ministerial office, or are recognised as members of Presbyterian churches, to her pulpits, and the most sacred fellowship of her body.

The discussions which have taken place in Scotland during the two last months, have been of a most exciting and unwonted character. In our small paper it would be impossible to insert a tithe of what has been said and done. We must, therefore, content ourselves with placing on record the most important parts and issues of the controversy; and to express our hope that the Free Church will never be allowed to rest until she has resolved to take her proper position in the great controversy for human rights.

On the 11th of September, 1844, in consequence of certain overtures on the subject of slavery in the United States addressed to the General Assembly by the Synods of Lothian and Tweeddale, Glasgow and Ayr, a committee, appointed by that body, gave in a report, from which we make the following extracts:—

"As to the subject of these overtures, the institution of slavery itself, and the continuance or toleration of it in the bosom of a professedly Christian community, the committee are assured that but one feeling prevails among all the members of this church. In its own nature, slavery in all its forms is to be regarded as a system of oppression which cannot be defended. Natural reason, sound policy, a sense of justice between man and man, as well as the whole tenor and spirit of the divine word, and especially of the dispensation of the gospel, concur in condemning it; and it is the glory of Christianity, that hitherto, in proportion to its advancing and prevailing influence, slavery has been mitigated, relaxed, discontinued, and finally extirpated and abolished. It is therefore with the deepest pain that every rightly constituted Christian mind must contemplate the continued and tolerated existence of slavery in the United States of America; and, apart from the feelings which cannot but be called forth by the mere fact of this practice of slavery being allowed

In a country making her just boast of the maintenance of equal liberties and equal rights, there are aggravations apparently in the American usage, particularly in the provisions made for the keeping up of the supply of slaves, in the obstacles interposed to their moral and religious education, and in the laws applicable to the protection of the rights of masters, which must characterise American slavery as one of the most deplorable forms of that evil, peculiarly calling for the exertions of a sound Christian philanthropy in regard to it."

This preamble, though couched in measured language, would have been satisfactory, but for the flattery it contains. How a country which tramples on the freedom of millions of human beings can make "her just boast of the maintenance of equal liberties and equal rights," is what we cannot conceive; which we do not think that even the astute doctors of the Free Church can satisfactorily explain. But what is the conclusion drawn from this preamble? Is it that the Free Church will have no communion with the abhorred thing or its abettors? No; the report says—

"The committee would bear in mind, that while slavery prevailed in the West Indies, the British churches, both at home and in the colonies, found it no easy matter, in practice, to determine how they ought to deal with it, especially in reference to the exercise of discipline, and the communion of the professing people of God. They would not, indeed, be understood as intimating an opinion that the British churches did all that it was their duty to do against the system of slavery. They believe the reverse. Nor do they mean to indicate any disapprobation of the rule or principle on which some of the American churches now act in opposition to that system; very far from it. All that they intend to suggest is, that the matter admits of, and requires, deliberation, and that the American churches are not to be hastily condemned, especially by those of Britain, because they do not all of them adopt the same practical course of procedure."

This paltering with a grave question of duty, the terms of which have been settled for many years past, in this country, is sad. The committee add:—

"In conclusion, and referring to certain questions which have been raised as to the subsisting intercourse between this church and the Presbyterian churches of America, the committee are of opinion that, *so far as the church is at present advised, there is no reason for interrupting the friendly intercourse so happily begun, and cultivated by reciprocal visits and good offices.*"

Now it is a fact placed beyond all dispute, that the southern sections of the Presbyterian churches in America are steeped up to the very lips in slavery, and the northern sections, with honourable individual exceptions, sustain them in it by still recognising them as living branches in the living vine. Yet the Free Church is proud of the connexion.

The report of the committee was adopted by the General Assembly, and was forwarded to the Rev. GEORGE JUDKIN, D.D., Moderator of the General Assembly, Danville, Kentucky; and the Rev. A. D. EDDY, D.D., Moderator of the General Assembly, Newark, New Jersey, United States, by Dr. HENRY GREY, the Moderator of the Free Church.

The course taken by the General Assembly of the Free Church not having given entire satisfaction to many of its supporters, it was deemed necessary in May, 1845, that that venerable body should remove the misunderstandings which existed, and a further report was therefore adopted, the spirit of which will be found in the following extracts:—

"There is no question here as to the heinous sin involved in the institution of American slavery: nor can there be any terms too strong to be employed in pointing out the national guilt which attaches to the continuance of that accursed system, and the national judgments which, under the government of a righteous God, may be expected to mark the divine pleasure against it. Neither can there be any doubt as to the duty incumbent upon all American Christians to exert themselves to the utmost, in every competent way, for the purpose of having it abolished. The only difference of opinion that can exist among the members of this church respects the duty of the churches in America, as churches who are called to deal partially with the evils of slavery, when it forms part of the social system in the community in which they are placed.

"Even as to this matter, it is believed, that the difference is more apparent than real. Without being prepared to adopt the principle that, in the circumstances in which they are placed, the churches in America ought to consider slave-holding as *per se* an insuperable barrier in the way of enjoying Christian privileges, or an offence to be visited with excommunication, all must agree in holding, that whatever rights the civil law of the land may give a master over his slaves, as *chattels personal*, it cannot but be sin of the deepest dye in him to regard or treat them as such; and whosoever commits that sin in any sense, or deals otherwise with his slaves than as a Christian man ought to deal with his fellow-men, whatever power the law may give him over them, ought to be held disqualified for Christian communion. Further, it must be the opinion of all, that it is the duty of Christians, when they find themselves, unhappily, in the predicament of slave-holders, to aim, as far as it may be practicable, at the manumission of their slaves; and, where that cannot be accomplished, to secure them in the enjoyment of the domestic relations, and of the means

of religious training and education. And all conduct of a contrary tendency, if persevered in, ought to be visited with the highest ecclesiastical censure, in every Church of Christ. *The only thing which causes hesitation, is the assertion of its being absolutely incumbent on churches thus situated to exclude all slave-holders from their communion.* The committee believe that the church is by no means prepared to assert this to be the duty of the American churches generally; but all that is contained in the above statement, *short of this, which seems to the committee an extremely doubtful position*, they are persuaded that this church will be ready, on every occasion, to maintain, and to urge on the attention of all other churches with which we have any fellowship."

This may appear, at first sight, an improvement on the original deliverance, but when viewed closely, it is not so. In the former deliverance slavery itself is condemned, as "in its own nature," and "in all its forms," "a system of oppression which cannot be defended." Here the terms are changed: the system is not condemned; so much as its abuses. Simple slave-holding may consist with fidelity to Christ, and with an honourable standing in his church. Whenever the slave-holder does not regard or treat his slaves as *property*, he is innocent. Is not this solemn trifling? So long as he sustains the legal relation they are *property*; they form part of his assets to meet his debts should he prove unfortunate in his affairs; and, unless he divest himself of the relation, when he dies, they descend to his heirs, or are disposed of to pay legacies, or, it may be, to aid in the diffusion of Christian truth in the world. The crime, in our judgment, is in the holding of man as *property*. If you do not play the tyrant with them—if you clothe, and lodge, and feed them well, you still wrong them, grievously wrong them. You deprive them of all civil immunities, of the protection of law as freemen, of the right to dispose of themselves in such a manner as to advance their own interests, in their own way. You, their fellow-men, keep them in a state of tutelage and dependence; and should any misfortune or accident overtake you, you expose them to all the horrors of separation and sale, and to all the sufferings and degradation of that state which you pronounce innocent, because you do not oppress them. But you are criminal in another sense: you sanction, by your relation as a slave-holder, the whole system of American slavery, with all its horrible and debasing incidents. An innocent slave-holder is a solecism in terms; as well might you call an infidel a Christian. The report goes on to state:—

"The committee might further observe, that the real question which has been raised, so far as the conduct of this church is concerned, is, not whether the American churches ought, or ought not, to refuse the privilege of their communion to all slave-holders—nor whether they are, or are not, as faithful as they should and might be, in exercising discipline against all the moral offences, and all the cruelty and neglect, which the existence of that relation is apt to cause—nor whether they are doing all that they should and might do to influence public opinion and the legislative counsels, with a view to the abolition of this nationally sinful system; but whether this church, having been brought, in God's providence, into intercourse with these churches, as regards the interchange of brotherly sympathy and aid, is bound to refuse the tokens of their attachment which their people have given, and to renounce and repudiate all further friendly correspondence with them, or is not rather at liberty, and under an obligation, to continue to cultivate a good understanding with them; taking care always to do so for the very purpose of faithfully exhorting and admonishing them to a full discharge of their duty, in this matter, to themselves and their country, as well as to the oppressed, and that God who hears their cry. Nor, if you stop short of the adoption of the extreme principle already adverted to, which raises some difficult questions and scruples, on scriptural and moral grounds, is there any extent of anxious entreaty and remonstrance to which this church ought not to be prepared to go, in dealing with those who are placed in such difficult circumstances, in order that they may be found faithful."

There is something more specious than sound in all this. The Free Church voluntarily seeks association with churches tainted with the guilt of slavery, receives their contributions into its treasury, and finding it difficult to retrace its steps, becomes encumbered with "difficult questions and scruples, on scriptural and moral grounds," and therefore continues the connexion and retains the money. It would be more manly at once to say, "We believe that Christianity and slavery are perfectly compatible with each other, that the relation of slave-holder may be maintained with a 'conscience void of offence towards God and towards man;' and, therefore, we will war not with the system but with its abuses, and honour with our confidence and love every good slave-holding Presbyterian in the United States. We will have no tests of fellowship which will shut out from our communion dear and valued Christian brethren."

But we must now furnish specimens of the reply of the American Presbyterians to the communication of the Free Church, of the 11th Sept. 1844. The answer bears date the 27th May, 1845. After the respondents had expressed their gratification "with the spirit of candour and inquiry which pervades the document on the subject of slavery," forwarded to them, they define their position in the following terms:—

"We dare not contract the bond of union among brethren more than Christ has contracted it, nor exclude from the pale of communion

members that merely hold a relation which Christ and his Apostles did not declare, among the many specific declarations against prevailing sins, to be incompatible with Christian fellowship. Slavery existed then as well as now, with at least equal atrocity; and in our opposition to its evils we desire to treat it as they did, rather than reduce their broad precepts to that minute kind of legislation which engenders fanaticism, distracts and enfeebles the church, and defeats the eventual triumph of the very principles it proposes to enforce."

Now this may be very fine writing, but to us it is not very clear. We believe the "broad principles" of Christ and his Apostles are not wide enough to cover slavery either Roman or American; and that were they faithfully applied, they would sweep the infamous institution from the face of the earth. But these good Presbyterians tell the Free Church that it is their "determination to abide by the example of Christ and his Apostles," as they understand it; and transmit with their letter a copy of resolutions passed at their General Assembly "with great unanimity and deliberate firmness." Here they are:

"Resolved, 1st, That the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, was originally organized, and has since continued the bond of union in the church upon the CONCEDED principle that the existence of domestic slavery, under the circumstances in which it is found in the southern portion of the country, is no bar to Christian communion.

"2nd, That the petitions that ask the assembly to make the holding of slaves in itself a matter of discipline, do virtually require this judicatory to dissolve itself, and abandon the organisation under which, by the divine blessing, it has so long prospered. The tendency is evidently to separate the northern from the southern portion of the church; a result which every good citizen must deplore as tending to the dissolution of the union of our beloved country, and which every enlightened Christian will oppose, as bringing about a ruinous and unnecessary schism between brethren who maintain a common faith."

These resolutions were preceded by a long preamble, full of negatives and assumptions, the drift of which is to prove that slavery is not necessarily sinful. They say—"This assembly cannot denounce the holding of slaves as necessarily a heinous and scandalous sin, calculated to bring upon the church the curse of God, without charging the apostles of Christ with conniving at such sin, introducing into the church such sinners, and thus bringing upon themselves the curse of the Almighty." They then echo the doctrine of the Free Church, but in somewhat feebler tones, that "there is no denying that there is evil connected with slavery," such as "the traffic in slaves for gain; the separation of husbands and wives and children for the sake of filthy lucre; and the cruel treatment of slaves." The assembly, further, would not have it understood that they countenance "the idea that masters may regard their servants as mere property, and not as human beings, rational, accountable, immortal." Of course not; that were to outrage common sense, as well as Christianity. They do not countenance the idea of their being mere property, such as a table or a tree, an ox, or an ass, but as men-property—the highest kind of property—they have no objection to that. And when they object to "the traffic in slaves for gain," or the separation of husbands and wives and children for the sake of filthy lucre," they have no objection to their being sold for purposes of charity: To endow theological academies, for instance, or to maintain the ministry, or to carry the gospel to the heathen. The end, in these cases, sanctifies the means. Let it not be said that we libel the pro-slavery churches of the United States when we say this. We can prove it. They go on to observe: "The assembly intend simply to say, that since Christ and his inspired apostles did not make the holding of slaves a bar to communion, we, as a court of Christ, have no authority to do so: since they did not attempt to remove it from the church by legislation, we have no authority to legislate on the subject."

We will not trust ourselves to comment on this presumptuous statement; but we feel persuaded that it would not have been allowed to have passed current in the dark ages, either as sound doctrine, or as scriptural fact. It is worthy of a pro-slavery church, the chief source of whose wealth is in slaves, or the produce of slaves; and ought not to be tolerated by any branch of the Christian church, which recognises the pure and elevating doctrines, the just and holy precepts, and the benign and merciful spirit of its great Master and Lord.

We come now to the recent action of the Free Church on the subject of American slavery. Overtures having been read in the General Assembly from the Synod of Sutherland and Caithness, and from the Synod of Angus and Mearns, &c., Drs. Candlish, Duncan, Cunningham, and others, spoke at great length in support of affirming the ground already taken by the Free Church. Mr. Macbeth, on the contrary, submitted a resolution, which pledged the assembly not to admit to its pulpits, or to the communion table, any individual from the United States by whom slavery is practised; nor to receive deputations from any church which does not visit slave-holding members with excommunication. Mr. Macbeth's proposition fell to the ground for want of a seconder, and the whole subject was remitted to a committee, to draft a letter to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. This letter was prepared, read, and adopted on the 2nd June last, and is as follows:—

After preamble, the letter proceeds thus:—

"It is not with a view to a prolonged and exciting discussion between you and us, far less with anything like a desire to bring about ultimate severance, that we again return, in a few sentences, to a subject which has already forced itself into our communications with one another. But we feel assured that you, as well as we, would be ashamed of any unmanly shrinking, on either side, from a free exchange of sentiment on such a topic; and in faithfulness, but with all affection, we must express to you our views.

"Upon most, if not all, of the general principles upon which you, as a church, appear to regulate your conduct, you and we are very much agreed; we are agreed in our sense of the evils of slavery, as well as in the conviction that masters may not 'regard their servants as mere property, instead of human beings, rational, accountable, immortal;' and that 'every Christian and philanthropist should seek, by all peaceable and lawful means, the repeal of unjust and oppressive laws respecting slavery'—and we presume, also, the abolition of slavery itself. We learn also, with satisfaction, that 'the ministers and churches in the slave-holding states are awaking to a deeper sense of their obligation to extend to the slave population generally the means of grace.' That you 'by no means countenance the traffic of slaves for the sake of gain; the separation of husbands and wives, parents and children, for the sake of 'filthy lucre,' or for the convenience of masters, or the cruel treatment of slaves in any respect,'—we firmly believe, and indeed never doubted. On the other hand, we do not concur in opinion with those who think that the mere fact of slave-holding should in itself, under all circumstances, be considered as a heinous sin, calling for the discipline of the church, and who would require us to renounce all friendly intercourse with you, and to offend and insult you, by rejecting the tokens of your sympathy with us in our trials, because you do not act upon that principle in your government of Christ's house according to his Word. We have reason, also, to apprehend, from recent experience in our own country, that the 'indiscriminate denunciations' of which you speak, have a tendency only 'to perpetuate and aggravate the evils which they profess to remedy.'

"At the same time, we cannot conceal from you, that in some particulars we are constrained to differ from you. You will permit us, we are confident, to address you with all frankness, and you will bear with us when we express our fear, that you may possibly have been led, by the circumstances in which you are placed, to contemplate, with somewhat diminished abhorrence, a system which no Christian man or Christian church can fail to condemn. It is the unhappy tendency of such a position as you occupy—in the midst of the institutions of slavery—that it almost inevitably leads to a less sensitive tone of feeling in regard to them; and we are fully aware that the extravagant and extreme opinions of some of the Abolitionists in your country have compelled you to make explanations upon this subject, which may be easily perverted into an apparent apology for the system. We suffer with you in this respect, and we have not been moved, nor will we allow ourselves to be moved, by mere clamour, from what we believe to be scriptural, as well as brotherly position in our relation towards you. But looking on from a distance, and out of the reach of some of the influences to which you are exposed, we may suggest for consideration, whether more might not be done for the great cause of the abolition of slavery by yourselves, in whose hands it would be safer and more successful than in the hands of many of its present advocates.

"You seem to us to take a view different from ours of the duty of the Christian church in dealing with the civil and domestic regulations of the state, one of which you say is slavery. Like you, we disclaim all right, on the part of the church, to legislate for the commonwealth, or dictate to its rulers, and we hold that, ordinarily, the alternative upon which Christians, as such, have to decide, is between obeying the law, if the Word of God permit obedience, or if not, taking the risk of disobeying it. We believe, however, that it is often the church's duty to testify to the state, and remonstrate with it, in regard to evils which it may be sanctioning or tolerating; more especially when these evils are so flagrantly in violation of the spirit of the gospel, and so inconsistent with the due discharge of its duties, as slavery, in every form, is. We cannot but think that the church and its members, as such, lie under an obligation to aim strenuously at their mitigation and removal. There are some things connected with slavery, as it is alleged to exist among you, which, so far as we could judge, would render it almost impossible to abstain from moving against it. We refer to the legal obstacles interposed in the way of teaching the young, the frequent, if not customary, violation of the marriage relation; and the difficulty or impossibility, as the law now stands, of the practice of emancipation. Thus, if the law forbids the teaching of the young, is the church, we would respectfully ask, to obey the law or break it? In either case it is surely alike her duty and her right to seek an alteration of a law so tyrannical and antichristian. So also in regard to the marriage relation. We cannot but regard the position of your ministers who are called to perform the marriage ceremony among a population liable to have the marriage tie so loosely formed, and so cruelly broken, as one demanding on the part of the

church whose ministers they are, most vigorous and persevering exertions in dealing with the legislatures of these states, with a view to have the abominations of such a system speedily brought to an end. And considering the obstacles interposed in the slave states to the voluntary manumission of slaves by their masters, or the purchase of their liberty by other parties, and the necessity thus laid on many to continue against their will in the relation of masters of slaves, we confess that it seems to us that the churches of America ought to lift up their voices more loudly, and put forth their energies more vigorously, than now they do, for the abolition of a system which not only is in itself contrary to the spirit of God's Word and the natural rights of man, but, as it would appear by the practical confession of its very supporters, can be upheld only by perpetuating ignorance, tampering with the domestic charities, and virtually prohibiting the influence of those enlightened and Christian feelings of benevolence which otherwise might speedily lead to the breaking of every yoke, and the letting of the oppressed go free.

"It is not for us to dictate to you as to the way in which the discipline of a Christian church ought to be brought to bear upon the holding or the having of slaves. While we are by no means prepared to say, that the mere fact of a man's standing in the legal relation of the master or owner of a slave is in itself, and without respect to circumstances, an offence to be visited with censure, we are inclined to regard it as in every case a position requiring to be explained and justified, on the part of him who is placed in it, by a clear plea of necessity or mercy. Wherever there is slavery there is sin; and the party who holds, or possesses, or owns a slave, must be presumed to be a sinner, unless it can be shown that it is not through his fault that he is a slave-master, and that he cannot, consistently with his duty, cease to be so. We are clearly of opinion, also, that no Christian man, however in the eye of the law he may stand in the relation of a master to a slave, can consider himself as really standing in that relation, either in the eye of conscience or in the eye of God; and we feel assured that a professing Christian holding himself entitled, or acting as if he held himself entitled, to regard and treat his fellow-immortal as if he were—what the law may make him in the judgment of human tribunals, but never in that of God—a piece of goods or chattels, sins grievously, and ought to be subjected to discipline of kindness at first, and the discipline of utmost severity at last. These principles we pray you to excuse us for humbly bringing forward on this occasion, that we may stir up your minds by way of remembrance, and that we may exonerate ourselves in this matter.

"In conclusion, allow us to suggest, with all tenderness, for your consideration, the fearful and appalling risk, as it appears to us, that indecision and delay in such a crisis must involve. Were the great cause of emancipation in our country at once and promptly taken up by Christian churches and Christian men, not on any minute question of ecclesiastical order or ecclesiastical relations, but on the broad general principles of religion and humanity, upon which, in our country, the contest was waged and the victory won,—were those who cannot adopt extreme views on the subject to rally around them a noble band of the true friends of the slave, and make a grand united movement against this monstrous national iniquity, your legislative bodies might yet listen to Scripture and to reason, and a peaceful settlement of this agitating controversy might yet be possible. It is not for us to anticipate the opposite alternative of the violence of unwise friends of the cause, making prudent men inactive, and goading the oppressed to madness. May the Lord himself show the path of light! and may he so raise up and qualify witnesses for his truth, and champions of the poor and needy, that the field may be taken and the banner unfurled by them that fear him, so as to leave neither room nor occasion for that wrath of man which worketh not the righteousness of God."

The matter will not be allowed to stop here. There is a moral power in the Free Church which will compel Drs. Candlish, Cunningham, and Duncan, to act in accordance with the spirit of the times, and, what is more, in the *spirit of their Divine Master*.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Tripoli, 23rd of April, 1846.

My dear Sir,—I arrived here on the 18th inst., thank God, quite safe and in the enjoyment of good health, after a traverse of fifty-nine days from the Oasis of Ghat, via Fezzan and Mourzuk. On sitting down and making a rough calculation, I found that I had been seventy-six days on the back of a camel, and that I had performed a circuit through the Great Desert of 1,900 miles, out of which I walked on foot over the desert at the rate of about five miles per day, 380 miles. I really do not know whether I have courage to undertake this again. I can hardly believe that I have done this. It seems to me some distempered dream.

I have not time to write you a statistical account of the slave-trade of the Great Desert,—by this opportunity I will mention simply a few general results or deductions.

1st. The slave-trade is considerably on the increase in the Great Desert. This year there were some hundreds more slaves brought from Soudan than in former years, and next year promises a rich and direful harvest for

the dealers in human flesh. This winter Soudan caravans brought altogether about 800 slaves to the market of Ghat. In past years only 200 or 300 hundred were brought down.

2nd. Slaves are flogged to death *en route* from the Ghat slave-mart to Tripoli; others are starved and over-driven to death. These horrible acts I saw with my own eyes; but of the Tonarghu route above Ghat I have no personal experience. All that I heard was, that the slaves are chiefly fed on *Asheesh* "herbs," which they pick up on the route. But of course, my enlightened and humane Lord Ponsonby says, this system of periodic murder is a fundamental law of Turkish domestic society, if not of the Ottoman empire generally; so we Englishmen must need prop up this infamous system, and, whenever the necessity occurs, England must spend two or three millions sterling instead of feeding the famished multitudes of Ireland, to maintain this same empire intact. Of this wisdom of politics there is no possible measurement! I don't know whether Sir Stratford Canning has adopted the opinion of his predecessor; it is so wise and humane that it is worthy of all adoption.

3rd. "The youngest female child (a negress of course) is violated by her brutal captors and masters in coming from central Africa to the slave-marts of the Great Desert." But not by the Touaricks in the Soudan route, it is in the Bornou route where these abominations are committed by the Tibboos.

4th. Children of five years and upwards walk more than 130 days over the Great Desert and the other districts of Africa, before they can reach the slave-market of Tripoli to be sold! I saw several children of this tender age dragged over the desert. But I will give you geographical or caravan distances; so that there can be no mistake, and I defy all contradiction.

From Kanon to Aheer 30 to 35 days

Aheer to Ghat 40 to 45 "

Ghat to Tripoli, either *via* the road of

Fezzan or Mourzuk 40 to 50 "

Total . . . 130 days.

One hundred-and-thirty days' calculated at twenty miles per day, make the enormous distance of 2,600 miles.

NOTE.—The shorter number is the *regular* caravan, the longer the *slave-caravan*.

5th. Three-fourths of the slave-traffic of Central Africa, the Great Desert, and North Africa, is supported by the money and goods of European merchants, some of them under British protection, resident in Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Egypt." The Moorish merchants of Tripoli, Ghadames, and other provinces of Tripoli, are men of straw, and simply agents of Jews and Christians in Tripoli and the coast generally.

6th. A considerable traffic of slaves is carried on in the southern districts of Algiers, under French protection, by the *Shanbats* and *Souf Arabs*." This is very honourable to French civilization in North Africa.

7th. At present there are no wars in Central Africa except those carried on solely for the capture of slaves, to supply the markets of Tripoli and Constantinople. It seems to me a real burlesque upon England's philanthropy and anti-slavery feeling that Central Africa should be continually the scene of war and bloodshed to satiate the lusts of a brutal race of men (Turks), called allies of England, and said to be under English protection. The balance of power is undoubtedly a very fine thing, and very properly occupies the days and nights of all our famous diplomatists; nevertheless, in this view of the case, it is as wicked as wickedness can be—that is to say, if the right and privilege and utility of Great Britain protecting Turkey is to be purchased by permitting Turkey and Turkish subjects to carry on eternally the slave-traffic in Tripoli and Central Africa. But I am so disgusted in this view of the case that I shall leave it to your Committee to make some energetic remonstrances to our Government.

On the 21st, I had the honour of an interview with the Bashaw, and proposed to him some regulations for mitigating the evils of the slave-trade, which, to do him justice, he faithfully promised to take into serious consideration.

Yours faithfully,

JAMES RICHARDSON.

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq.,

Secretary of the British and Foreign
Anti-slavery Society.

Colonial Intelligence.

The intelligence from the colonies generally, gives most distressing accounts of the droughts which have prevailed, and the severe losses that all parties have sustained thereby. It appears, however, by the late mail, that rains have fallen in many of the colonies, and that although the quantity of sugar manufactured for exportation will be considerably less than that of last year, it will not be so small as might have been expected. Coolie immigration is taking place rapidly into the islands of Jamaica and Trinidad, and the colony of Demerara; but already, it is apparent, notwithstanding the effects made to conceal the fact, that it is

not attended with those happy consequences which were predicted by the planters. The next mail will, we trust, bring us evidence of the exact state of things, that we may lay the same before our readers. During the year 1845, the number of immigrants into British Guiana amounted to 4,859, chiefly consisting of Coolies and Africans from the Bahamas. [The arrivals during the month of April, this year, amounted to 2,430, of whom 109 were Africans, 1052 Coolies, and 1,269 Portuguese from Madeira.] In the same colony we regret to learn that there have been destructive fires. No less than twenty estates on the west side of Demerara have been destroyed. The fires were accidental. In addition to the Coolies which have been imported into Jamaica, there are occasional arrivals of Emancipados from Cuba, and of liberated Africans from Sierra Leone. The loss of the late Wm. Knibb is severely felt. An attempt has been made to introduce English colonists into Trinidad. It has proved a complete failure, and the loss of life has been deplorable. Slaves, we are happy to say, are finding their way from the French islands to the British colonies. Lord Harris is appointed Governor of Trinidad. His predecessor, Sir Henry Macleod, has left the colony.

Miscellanea.

Extract of a private letter from the *Prometheus* steam-sloop, Commander Hay, engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, dated February 12th, 1846:—"We have taken twelve prizes since we have been upon the coast, but in consequence of having to divide our crew so often to put on board the prizes hands to navigate them, we have often been left in a very helpless condition. * * * We have had the fever on board, which has carried off six of our men a day. The coast is very sickly at the present time."—*Times*.

ANTI-SLAVERY LODGINGS.—On taking a stroll through Leith Links the other day, we observed a notice exhibited from a window of a house at the east end, of "Furnished Lodgings;" and underneath, the following rather novel caveat—viz., "None need apply who is a member of a church which encourages slavery."—*Caledonian Mercury*.

Two slaves belonging to a gentleman residing in Andrew County in this State, endeavoured to escape to Iowa on the 2nd inst. They were pursued, and, resisting the efforts of their captors, were killed. The *Savannah Empire* says they had with them a written pass and directions how to reach Iowa, which had been furnished to them by a citizen of that county, heretofore highly respected.—*St. Louis Reporter*, May 20th.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscriptions
London. —Elliott, John	2	2 0
Barclay, J. G.	12	12 0
Norton, Thomas	2	2 0
Harvey, Robert	0	10 0
Savory, Joseph	1	1 0
Peck, Richard	2	2 0
Peck, James	2	2 0
Masters, H. W.	2	2 0
Tucker, Joseph	1	1 0
Post, Jacob	1	1 0
Price, Rev. Dr.	1	1 0
Lushington, Charles	1	1 0
Foster, Robert	1	1 0
Ball, William	2	2 0
Neathy, Joseph	1	1 0
Eaton, Mrs.	3	3 0
Bell, John	2	2 0
Robinson, J. R.	1	1 0
Allen, Stafford	1	1 0
Cooper, Joseph	2	2 0
Clark, Jeremiah	1	1 0
Palmer, Edward	1	1 0
Sterry, Richard	1	1 0
Norton, T. Jun.	1	1 0
Burchett, J. R.	1	1 0
Lester, J. J.	2	2 0
Stacey, George	2	2 0
Norton, William	1	1 0
Sterry, Joseph	2	2 0
Sterry, Joseph, Jun.	1	1 0
Sterry, Henry	3	3 0
Cash, William	1	1 0
Barrett, Richard	2	2 0
Morland, John	2	2 0
Warren, C. H.	1	1 0
Stacey, R.	2	2 0
Phillips, John	5	0 0
Crawford, Wm.	3	3 0
Hutton, Dr.	0	10 6
Sterry, T.	0	10 0
Anonymous	10	0 0

London. —Alexander, George William.....	100	0	0
Gurney, H. E.	10	10	0
Liskeard. —Rundell, Samuel			1 1 0
Allen, John			1 10 0
Allen, Francis			0 10 0
Wadge, John			0 10 0
Elliott, Mary			0 10 0
Elliott, E. and M.			0 10 0
Elliott, J. and S.			0 10 0
Crouch, E. A.			0 5 0
Geach, Edward			0 5 0
Todd, Rev. J. F.			0 5 0
Veale, John E.			0 10 0
Veale, Richard			0 10 0
Veale, Brothers			0 5 0
Dance, Richard			0 5 0
Stark, Thomas			0 2 6
Sansom, Mary			0 10 0
Fox, Ann			0 5 0
Jackson, Clement			0 5 0
Ladies' Association			4 0 0
Southampton. —Lindoe, Robert			0 10 6
Clark, Mr.	10	0	0
Randall, E. M.			0 10 6
Clark, Joseph, Jun.			0 10 6
Allen, J. M.			0 10 6
Barling, Mr.			0 5 0
Brenwen, Mr.			0 5 0
Kelloe, Mr.			0 5 0
Forbes, Mr.			0 5 0
Fowler, R. S.			0 5 0
Laishley, George			0 10 0
Marett, Charles			0 5 0
Friend, A.			0 5 0
Fletcher, Isaac			0 5 0
Knight, Joseph			0 5 0
Fox, Mr.			0 2 6
Newman, W. H.			0 5 0
Crabb, Rev. James			0 5 0
Palk, Mr.			0 10 6
Birmingham. —Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society	25	0	0
Leeds. —Wailles, George	5	0	0
Broad, Eliza			0 10 0
Burnet, J.			0 10 0
Preston, Rutland. —Parker, T. G.			1 0 0
Rochester. —Brock, Edward			0 10 0
Wheeler, Samuel			0 10 0
Wheeler, Frederick			0 10 0
Martin, Henry			0 10 0
Balcomb, Thomas			0 5 0
Young, Joseph			0 10 0
Horsnail, Mary			0 5 0
Burr, Thomas			0 5 0
Knight, John M.			0 5 0
Balcomb, James			0 2 6
French and Son			0 10 0
Wheeler, Mary			0 5 0
Toomer, Mr.			0 5 0
Mullenger, George			0 5 0
Ross, Edward			0 2 6
Horsnail, W. C.			0 10 0
Stylen, Robert			0 5 0
Finch, Edward			0 5 0
Tatum, William			0 10 0
Doncaster. —Anti-Slavery Society			6 16 0
Calne. —Gundry, William			1 0 0
Maidstone. —Smith, George	2	0	0
Scotby, near Carlisle. —Sutton, Lydia	5	0	0
Halstead. —Jesup, James			0 10 0
Charlbury. —Sessions, James			0 10 6
Colchester. —Catchpool, Thomas	5	0	0
Wimborne, Dorset. —Carr, John Glyn, Rev.			1 1 0
Newcastle. —Beaumont, Wm.			1 1 0
Norwich. —Forster, Wm.			2 2 0
Falmouth. —Fox, Anna Maria			0 5 0
Tregelles, E. O.			0 5 0
Fox, Elizabeth			1 0 0
Fox, Miss			0 10 6
Bristol. —Burder, Rev. J.			1 0 0
Swansea. —Price, Joseph T.			5 0 0
Woodbridge. —Ladies' Negro Friend Society	3	0	0
Derby. —Ladies' Auxiliary	26	0	0
Liverpool. —Ladies' Auxiliary	10	10	0
North Shields. —Procter, Joseph	10	0	0
Sheffield. —Smith, Edward	50	0	0
Hitchin. —Sharples, Joseph	50	0	0
Dublin. —Bewley, Henry			1 0 0
Bewley, Samuel			1 0 0
Malone, William			1 0 0
Bewley, Thomas			1 0 0
Pim, Jonathan			1 0 0
Russell, Henry			1 0 0
Cork. —Beale, Ed.			1 1 0
Edinburgh. —Dunlop, John	10	0	0
Haughead Mauchline. —Stewart, James, on behalf of himself and other heirs of the late James Stewart, Esq., Laverock Bank, Trinity, Leith, per the Edinburgh Emancipation Society	25	0	0